Child & Rel.
LIBRARY
JAN 14 1943
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Published Weekly

The Federal Council Declares War!
By Harold Bosley

A Crisis in the Supreme Court
An Editorial

Our Secret African Adventure
By Oswald Garrison Villard

Moral Aims and Victory
An Editorial

Civil Liberties—Slogan or Reality?
By William Henry Chamberlin

15 Cents a Copy • January 13, 1943 • Four Dollars a Year

In This Issue

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

is the distinguished correspondent who for many years represented the *Christian Science Monitor* in Moscow, Tokyo and Paris. Since the fall of Paris Mr. Chamberlin has been residing in this country, where he is now connected with the *Atlantic Monthly* and doing much magazine writing and lecturing. Among his many books are his monumental history of *The Russian Revolution, Russia's Iron Age, Collectivism—A False Utopia, Japan Over Asia* (first published in 1937 and recently reissued), *The World's Iron Age, Canada Today and Tomorrow,* and his autobiography, *The Confessions of an Individualist.* Mr. Chamberlin lives in Cambridge, Mass. His article in this issue is the first in the series on "Rediscover Your America!" which will appear in The Christian Century during 1943.

HAROLD BOSLEY

is the minister of the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, Baltimore, Md., and was formerly professor of philosophy and dean of the chapel at Iowa State Teachers College. Dr. Bosley is the author of *The Quest for Religious Certainty.*

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

writes his regular biweekly article for The Christian Century after returning from another ten-day visit to Washington. Mr. Villard was for many years editor of the *Nation* and the *New York Evening Post.*

KING D. BEACH

with this issue becomes staff correspondent at Kansas City. Dr. Beach is minister of Trinity Methodist Church, Kansas City; president of that city's council of churches; member of the board of directors of its war chest, and a leader in many civic activities.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

JANUARY 13, 1943

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON, *Editor*
PAUL HUTCHINSON, *Managing Editor*
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*
HAROLD E. FEY, *Field Editor*

Staff Correspondents

EDWARD SHILLITO (London)
J. HENRY CARPENTER (New York)
STANLEY A. HUNTER (San Francisco)
ALVA W. TAYLOR (Nashville)
ALLAN A. HUNTER (Los Angeles)
JOHN RAY EWERS (Pittsburgh)
JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON (Waco)
E. H. PRUDEN (Washington, D. C.)
EDGAR DEWITT JONES (Detroit)
MARSHALL WINGFIELD (Memphis)
P. OOMMAN PHILIP (India)
DRYDEN L. PHELPS (West China)
HAMPTON ADAMS (St. Louis)
K. J. FOREMAN (Davidson, N. C.)
G. BAEZ CAMARGO (Mexico City)
CHARLES L. VENABLE (Chicago)
PHILIP G. MURRAY (St. Paul)
ACTON E. MIDDLEBROOKS (Alabama)
GALEN WEAVER (Honolulu, T. H.)
A. T. MCNAUGHTON (Australia)
KING D. BEACH (Kansas City)
RAYMOND B. WALKER (Portland, Ore.)
C. D. BRODHEAD (Philadelphia)
GEORGE CARSTAIRS (Edinburgh)
CLARENCE W. KEMPER (Denver)
F. W. BURNHAM (Richmond)
J. D. MONTGOMERY (Buenos Aires)
WARREN C. TAYLOR (Des Moines)
ERNEST M. HOWSE (Winnipeg)
HUGH MCLEOD (Victoria, B. C.)
CARLYLE ADAMS (Utica, N. Y.)
GEORGE BUCKNER, JR. (Indianapolis)
CLARIS E. SILCOX (Toronto)
ALFRED W. SWAN (Madison, Wis.)
DENZIL G. M. PATRICK (Geneva)
O. M. WALTON (Cleveland)
J. MAURICE TRIMMER (Macon, Ga.)
WALTER W. SIKES (Berea, Ky.)
DECOURCY H. RAYNER (Montreal)
JOHN M. VERSTEEG (Cincinnati)
BERT G. MITCHELL (Seattle)
RICHARD K. MORTON (Providence)

Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Copyrighted 1943 in the United States. All rights reserved.
Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.56 extra

The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries

Contents

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs 35
- A Crisis in the Supreme Court 38
- Moral Aims and Victory 39

Quintus Quiz: Going Back Another Way 42

Contributed Articles
- Civil Liberties: Slogan or Reality? by William Henry Chamberlin 43
- The Federal Council Declares War! by Harold Bosley 46
- Our Secret African Adventure, by Oswald Garrison Villard 49

Books
- John Ponet, 1516-1556, Advocate of Limited Monarchy, by Winthrop S. Hudson 51
- Books Received 52

Correspondence 52

News of the Christian World
- Correspondence from New York 54
- Correspondence from Chicago 54
- Correspondence from Scotland 56
- Correspondence from England 56
- Correspondence from California 58
- Correspondence from Manitoba 59
- Correspondence from Kentucky 60
- Correspondence from St. Louis 62
- Correspondence from Kansas City 62

Current Feature Films 63

Calendar of Coming Events

Jan. 13. Institute of Christianity, St. George's Church, New York; "The Negro," by Joseph Gathings and Eunice Carter.
Jan. 14. Northern Baptist Convocation, Chicago.
Jan. 18-20. Michigan Pastors' Conference, Ann Arbor.
Jan. 20. Institute of Christianity, St. George's Church, New York; "The Jew," by Louis Finkelstein.
Jan. 22. Federal Council Executive Committee, New York City.
Jan. 23. Symposium on American Refugees; Exclusion Act of 1924, Postwar World Council, Chicago.
Jan. 23, 24. Southwest Virginia Methodist Student Retreat, Radford.
Jan. 24. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Sigrid Schultz, speaker.
Jan. 24. Sunday Evening Forum, First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.; Clark G. Kuebler, speaker.
Jan. 24. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Richard C. Raines, speaker.
Jan. 25. Northern Baptist Convocation, Taunton, Mass.
Jan. 25. Northern Baptist Convocation, Spokane, Wash.
Jan. 26. Northern Baptist Convocation, Boston, Mass.
Jan. 27. Northern Baptist Convocation, Taunton, Mass.
Jan. 27. Institute of Christianity, St. George's Church, New York; "The Enemy Alien."
Jan. 28. Clarion Baptist Association Conference, New Bethlehem, Pa.
Jan. 28. Northern Baptist Convocation, Yakima, Wash.
Jan. 29. Pittsburgh Baptist Association Conference, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jan. 29. Northern Baptist Convocation, Seattle, Wash.
Jan. 31. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Harry A. Overstreet, speaker.
Jan. 30-31. American Library Association Experimental Institute, Chicago.
Jan. 31. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; John Erskine, speaker.
Jan. 31. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Henry St. George Tucker, speaker.
Feb. 1. Indiana Baptist Association Conference, Indiana, Pa.
Feb. 1. Northern Baptist Convocation, Tacoma, Wash.
Feb. 1-4. Ohio Pastors' Convention, Columbus.
Feb. 2. Monongahela Baptist Association Conference, Connellsville, Pa.
Feb. 3. Social Hygiene Day.
Feb. 3. Ten Mile Baptist Association Conference, Waynesburg, Pa.
Feb. 3. Social Hygiene Day.
Feb. 3. Institute of Christianity, St. George's Church, New York; "The White Race," by Eduard C. Lindeman.
Feb. 4. Beaver Baptist Association Conference, New Castle, Pa.
Feb. 4. Northern Baptist Convocation, Portland, Ore.
Feb. 7. Sunday Evening Forum, First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.; Albert W. Palmer, speaker.
Feb. 7. Sunday Evening Forum, First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.; Albert W. Palmer, speaker.
Feb. 7. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Wilhelm Solzbacher, speaker.
Feb. 7-14. National Sharecroppers Week.
Feb. 12-14. Virginia Methodist Student Conference, Harrisonburg, Va.
Feb. 14. Race Relations Sunday.
Feb. 14. Ford Hall, Boston; Irving Stone, speaker.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LX CHICAGO, JANUARY 13, 1943 NUMBER 2

EDITORIAL

EVEN THE MOST skeptical disbeliever in the truth of good news in any war office communique must be convinced that the Russian victories are as authentic in the field as they are tremendous in the reports. The statistics of Germans killed and captured from day to day, and of guns and rounds of ammunition taken, should be read as approximations; and if one assumes that such estimates probably do not err on the conservative side, there is no harm in that. But the evident fact is that the Germans have lost terrifically in men, material and positions, that the divisions in the corridor extending to Stalingrad are almost completely cut off, that Russian successes south are seriously threatening to isolate and then annihilate the German force in the Caucasus area, and that the shadow of the Russian advance already falls across both Rostov and Smolyensk, the pivotal points of the southern and central sections of the German campaign in Russia. It is not claimed that these two cities will be taken immediately. The Russian communiques deal in reports, not promises. But what has already happened may mark the turning of the tide of the European war and the fortunes of the Reich. *May!* When the waves are high, the turning of a tide cannot be determined by observation until it has ebbed considerably. But whether or not Stalin has yet turned the tide, he has certainly turned the trick so far as concerns the German winter campaign in Russia.

Russian Advance Continues

Hitler's Happy New Year

AS A MESSAGE of good cheer to his armed forces, the führer's New Year's release lacked something—in fact, everything—that might have given a lift to the spirit of those chastened and bewildered men, nor did the addenda by Göring and Göbbels go far toward supplying what was missing. The New Year's messages of nazis number one, two and three, respectively, gave only a conventional repetition of the stereotyped phrases about the certainty of ultimate victory. The stress was on the hardships ahead. The new year will be a difficult one for Germany and "the scales may seem to tip on the side of our enemies," said Hitler, but there will be no escaping its trials. "One thing is certain—in this struggle there can be no compromise." A true word, that, and it recalls his recent assurance to the German people that, come what may, he will never desert them. Göring warned: "Difficult things will be asked again from everyone." Göbbels gloomed: "We must go on to the end, whether we want to or not. It might be that it will be still a hard and stubborn combat; it might be that it will end suddenly." And so it might. But Göbbels will probably not be comforted by Admiral Halsey's prediction that it will end this year—with both Germany and Japan defeated. And when Rosenberg announces a regime of "absolute tolerance" for all religious groups (unless they direct their activities against "Germanic moral feeling") that, aside from the trick imperfectly concealed in the exception, may be considered a retreat on the ideological front.

United Church Gains In Manitoba

STRONG confirmation of the insight which led to the formation of the United Church of Canada is provided by the 1941 religious census of Manitoba. Tucked away in the final paragraph of our staff correspondence from Winnipeg (see page 60) are some figures which tell a significant and heartening story. The report comes at the end of the first full census decade since the United Church was established in 1925. It shows that even after the first strong impulse provided by the merger had worn away, the United Church continued to grow with unusual vigor. It is now almost as large as the Roman Catholic Church in that province and its rate of growth exceeds that of that body. This result, as registered with cold precision by the census figures, can mean only one thing. It is that the urge to unite into one body the former Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches, which made itself felt most unmistakably in the western provinces but was widespread throughout Canada, was not a transient notion, quickly forgotten when satisfied. Instead it was a great upsurge of the vital force

of Canadian Christianity, tensing itself against the confinements of a too narrow denominationalism and struggling to free itself for the fulfillment of its high mission. Now it has attained this freedom and has had nearly two decades to demonstrate its validity and its power. If there is any concern as to the channel into which Protestantism tends increasingly to flow in Canada, it can be quieted by reference to the figures for the groups which have chosen to go their separate ways. Under the same conditions and over the same period of time, the groups which might have come into the union but refused to do so have declined in numbers. Is it too much to hope that sectarianism will read the handwriting on a Manitoba wall?

Mr. Wallace Outlines a Postwar Order

LIMITATIONS of space make it impossible at this time to do more than call attention to the speech which Vice-President Wallace delivered on Woodrow Wilson's birthday. Later we hope to discuss it more at length, together with some of the criticisms which have been leveled against it. All we can say now is that it presents the most important outline of peace aims so far put forward by an administration spokesman and Americans will do themselves and their hopes for lasting peace a disservice if they do not secure copies and read it in full. This was the third in a notable progression of speeches made by the vice-president. In the first, Mr. Wallace rejected all efforts to involve the United States in any sort of postwar imperialism and declared for "the century of the common man." In the second, he insisted that postwar democracy must function in economic, educational and social as well as in political life. Now in the third he lays down five general requirements for lasting peace: (1) Disarmament of such nations as threaten peace; (2) machinery for preventing economic warfare and for furthering the economic advancement of all nations; (3) an international court; (4) a world council of some sort, working under a system with enough flexibility to meet changing situations as they arise; (5) regional organizations of nations. Not all the Wallace speech was as wise as was his discussion of these five main points. His suggestion, for example, of the need for future Allied control of German and Japanese schools —an idea which appears to stem from Lord Halifax— holds within it all sorts of trouble-breeding possibilities. But as to the extraordinary importance of the speech as a whole there can be no question. Get it and read it!

China Begins to Show Her Resentment

SOMETHING is very wrong about our relations with China. What it is, we do not know. But many things have happened lately which would never have happened were not China deeply resentful over something. These evidences of Chinese resentment came to a head on the last day of the old year when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, despite his receipt of a fulsomely complimentary handwritten letter from President Roosevelt, recalled the military mission which has been cooling its heels in Washington since last spring. Both China and the United States are now trying to postpone the actual departure of the military mission as long as possible, for such departure would be seized on by Axis propagandists as evidence of a rift between the two nations. But General Chiang has forced the issue right up to the edge of rupture. What is the trouble? We have no inside information, but it is possible that China's resentment grows out of one of the three following factors, or all three taken together. First, there is her belief that she is given no real voice in deciding the strategy of the United Nations. Second, there is her lack of confidence in America's "step-by-step" strategy based on Australia and New Zealand for the reconquest of Japanese-occupied territory. Only a campaign launched from Chinese bases, she believes, offers prospect of defeating Japan within the limits of money, lives and time which the United States will be willing to expend. Third, she suspects that behind the present lack of aggressive action in the Pacific there may be maneuvering between the United States and Britain to restore the colonial *status quo ante* in the Far East. It may be that none of these things is responsible for the trouble between this nation and China. The important fact is that *something* is wrong. And the American people do not want such a state of affairs to continue.

Langmuir Recognizes Limits of Science

A NOBEL prize winner in physics and associate director of the General Electric research laboratory, Dr. Irving Langmuir has a deep knowledge of science and a profound respect for it. But his address as retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was devoted chiefly to exhibiting the limitations of the scientific method when applied to human affairs. Politics, economics, social relations and the motivation of men's actions exhibit complexity of a higher order than that of physics or chemistry. The scientist cannot use the experimental method to determine the cause of wars or depressions. In human affairs "divergent phenomena frequently play a role of vital importance"—and by "divergent phenomena" he means the acts and motives of individuals which cannot be accounted for or their effects measured by scientific methods. He rejects the quasi-determination of statistical averages, and denies the compulsive power of economic laws based upon the presupposition that acquisitiveness is man's dominant drive or of laws of social evolution involving the glorification of ruthlessness. "The coming victory of the United Nations," says Dr. Langmuir, "will prove that the survival of the nation may be prevented by an aggressive spirit, by a desire to conquer or enslave the world, or by intolerance, ruthlessness and cruelty. In fact, there is no scientific reason why decency and morality may not prove to be vastly more important factors in survival than brute strength." But if science cannot disprove this, neither can it prove it. At this point, says this eminent scientist, science is simply out of its depth, and humanity must fall back upon common sense and morality, which is "a kind of summation of the wisdom and experience of our race,"

coming to us largely through tradition and religion and checked by our own sometimes "fuzzy" but generally functioning sense of decency. That other qualities than unrestrained selfishness may have survival value is not a new proposition, but it is refreshing to have a scientist recognize it. One remembers Kropotkin's great book of forty years ago, *Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution.* But Kropotkin was damned as a radical and an anarchist.

British Ask Questions About American Gauleiters

REPORTS from London indicate that our British allies would like to know a good deal more about the "School of Military Government" which the army is conducting at the University of Virginia. Army officers who have taken the course are said to refer facetiously to the Charlottesville school as "our school for gauleiters." The army, according to newspaper dispatches from Washington, prefers to have it known as a school for the training of future pro-consuls. Under whatever name, it is apparently devoted to preparing army officers for service as administrators of occupied territory. Not much attention had been paid this school until the undersecretary of war, Robert P. Patterson, attempted to define its functions at a recent graduation. Then London sat up and took notice. For while Mr. Patterson answered some questions, he raised more than he answered. Among other things that the English would like to know are these: If it requires joint operations by the British and American armies to occupy Axis territory, are all the "pro-consuls" to be American? When the policies governing these military administrators are laid down, who is to formulate them—somebody representing the United Nations or the United States army? And how long are these American army officers to govern European territories after the firing stops? We are not surprised that the British want to know more about the Charlottesville school. So do many Americans—a great deal more.

General Smuts Acts to Ease Race Tension in South Africa

UNDER the prod of war, it is frequently claimed, Americans are becoming "world-minded." Well, maybe so. We certainly know the names and approximate locations of a number of places which few of us could have located a year or two ago. There remains, however, at least one important part of the world about which Americans know next to nothing and concerning which American papers scarcely ever speak. That is South Africa. And South Africa is of great importance because the world's worst color clash seems to be in the making there. By every expedient of law and social custom the seven million blacks in that African U.S.A.—the Union of South Africa—are being prodded to such a state of despair and anger that an outbreak of some horrible nature is constantly becoming more likely. Not only does the law impose savage restraints upon the colored population, not only is the social policy of segregation enforced with more rigidity than anywhere else in the world, but the largest Protestant church insists that this repression of the black man represents Christian obedience to the word of God. First rumbling of the storm to come may be heard in the strike of thousands of Negro milk deliverymen, meat workers, municipal laborers and food factory employees at Johannesburg, as reported by *Time.* The average wage of these colored workers has been $6 a week, and costs are going up in South Africa as they are everywhere else. Because their unions are not recognized, the Negro strikers were not subject to anti-strike emergency regulations. If the report is to be credited, Johannesburg's life had been thoroughly disrupted and government authorities were at their wit's end when General Smuts, the premier, stepped in. By decree, he forbade all strikes by native workers. But he granted them compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes and some wage concessions. By so doing he brought down on his head the wrath of the Afrikanders, as the whites of Dutch descent are called. Increasingly the struggle between British and Dutch in South Africa is becoming a struggle over the future treatment of the black man. Is he to be given economic opportunity commensurate with his inherent abilities, or is he to be held forever in virtual slavery? That is the issue, with the Afrikanders on the side of virtual slavery. Americans who think of the color problem only in terms of Asia or of our southern states had better begin seriously to study developments in South Africa.

Churches Should Pay Victory Tax

IT IS NOT surprising that some of the Southern Baptists in Kentucky (according to our correspondent, as reported on page 60) and in Texas have protested that for churches to pay the 5 per cent victory tax on ministers' salaries would be to submit to an improper control of the church by the state. Neither is it discreditable. It is well to be sensitive to any threatened encroachment upon the freedom of the church. But this time we think they are mistaken. This tax does not touch the liberty of the church. It may, on the contrary, save religious liberty and all other liberties. The objection, briefly stated, is that, when the state demands that the church make this 5 per cent deduction from the minister's salary and pay it to the government, the state treats the church like any other corporation. Well, as an organization handling money, owning property, having employees, making investments, the church *is* like any other corporation. Its exemption from taxation on the property that it uses for religious purposes is a favor, not a right. The church is never so free from interference by the state as when the state treats it, in its corporate capacity, exactly as it treats every other group of citizens who, in the exercise of their civil rights, organize for any lawful purpose. If the state does more or less than that—if it makes impositions upon the church which it does not place upon other organizations, or if it grants it favors and exemptions not granted to others—there is the beginning of that very entanglement of church and state against which the Baptists conspicuously, and other Americans generally, protest. These zealous guardians of liberty in Kentucky have the right idea, but they are making the

wrong application of it. They had better collect this tax and pay it over to the treasury and thank God that they live in a country where the government meddles so little with the church that, when it comes to collecting a payroll tax at the source, it does not even notice whether a given employer is a church, a bank or a factory.

A Crisis in the Supreme Court

ONCE AGAIN the right of Jehovah's Witnesses to distribute their literature freely and to instruct their children against saluting the flag in public school exercises is about to be passed on by the Supreme Court. Although the court has already upheld the right of municipalities to impose a license fee on members of this sect before they can distribute their tracts and the right of school boards to require a flag salute as a condition of attending public schools, the issues of freedom of conscience, freedom of religion and freedom of speech involved will not down. Therefore the court has agreed to review decisions of lower courts upholding the licensing of tract distributors in Dallas and Paris, Texas. And it has likewise agreed to review the appeal of the state of West Virginia from the decision of a three-judge federal court which voided an action of that state's board of education requiring all schoolchildren to salute the flag.

As our readers will remember, it was only last June that the Supreme Court upheld, by one vote, the licensing restrictions placed upon Witness colporteurs by towns in Alabama, Arkansas and Arizona. At that time, in one of the most vigorous dissenting opinions in years, Chief Justice Stone declared that by the decision "a way has been found for the effective suppression of speech and religion despite constitutional guarantees." The words of the chief justice roused a part of the press to the threat to its freedom involved in any legalization of ordinances for the licensing of distributors of published matter. As a result, newspapers which undoubtedly regard Jehovah's Witnesses as a collection of religious crackpots are now giving powerful support to the effort to obtain a reversal of the court's decision. By keeping the issue before the public and by providing eminent legal counsel they have done much to reinstate it on the docket of the highest tribunal. It is a pity that church bodies, whose interests are equally at stake, have done nothing to parallel the efforts of the press to obtain a new hearing.

The flag salute decision of the Supreme Court is now two years old. It came up from the town of Minersville, Pennsylvania, where the children of a family named Gobitis were excluded from the public schools for refusing to join in this familiar school exercise. Although it was clear that the principle of freedom of conscience was involved, the court in that instance ruled against the Witnesses by an 8-to-1 vote, Chief Justice Stone alone dissenting. But in the licensing case last June three members of the court—Justices Black, Douglas and Murphy—took the unprecedented step of acknowledging that they had been in the wrong on the flag salute case. It was in the light of this acknowledgment of error that the three federal judges sitting on the recent West Virginia case refused to be bound by the Supreme Court's verdict of 1940 and ruled against the state board of education's power to exact a salute. Ironically, as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has pointed out, it was Federal Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina who wrote the opinion against compulsory saluting in contradiction of the Supreme Court dictum of 1940, which was written by Justice Felix Frankfurter. For Judge Parker, when nominated for the Supreme Court by President Hoover, was rejected by the Senate as a reactionary, while Justice Frankfurter was chosen as a liberal. Time has its own strange reversals.

Since the Supreme Court rendered its 5-to-4 decision against Jehovah's Witnesses last summer Justice Byrnes, a member of the majority, has resigned to become a war administrator. The present court may therefore be regarded as evenly split, 4-to-4, on the questions involved in the activities of this trouble-making sect. It is clear, accordingly, that the nomination which President Roosevelt is about to make for the vacancy on the Supreme Court bench is of extraordinary importance to all who are genuinely concerned over the future of the Four Freedoms. The new justice, whoever he may be, will have it in his power to give new authority to constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion and of publication. Or he may, by his single vote, deal both these concepts a body blow, precisely as Chief Justice Stone has warned.

There may be a tendency in some quarters to minimize the importance of these cases because it is the rights of Jehovah's Witnesses which are immediately involved. Do not the Witnesses stand for a hodgepodge of peculiar millenial ideas, and do they not seek to propagate these ideas in ways which sometimes make them a nuisance to the communities in which they are operating? They do. Then why worry about the means which may be taken to force them to conform to community norms or to keep their provocative tracts out of circulation? Because civil liberty under the Constitution means nothing unless it protects the rights of every citizen. Because it is only the attempt of the non-conformist to assert his rights which can test the extent and reality of our civil liberties. And because failure to uphold such civil liberties within the United States will render meaningless such talk as we may indulge in about extending the Four Freedoms to the rest of mankind.

Elsewhere in this issue that outstanding journalist, William Henry Chamberlin, tries to help American citizens to see the dangerous situation in which our civil liberties stand after a year of war. On the whole, Mr. Chamberlin agrees with the American Civil Liberties Union that there have been few of the outrageous mob defiances of constitutional guarantees which disgraced parts of the country during the First World War. But he has no difficulty in disclosing many developments which bode no good for the future authority of the Bill of Rights. Behind these specific situations described by Mr. Chamberlin, however, and behind the legal cases now making their way up to the Supreme Court for review, there lies a question which has become fundamental with regard to the whole concept of civil liberty. That question is this: To whom do

we guarantee these liberties—to every person in the United States or only to a select group?

This issue is, of course, a child of the years since the First World War. Greater and greater has grown the misgiving among Americans as they have watched from a distance while groups to whom the watchwords of political liberalism are anathema have used the methods of liberalism to destroy liberal governments and set up despotism. This process, which began in Russia when the bolsheviks seized control of the soviets to destroy the liberal government born of the March revolution, was later reproduced in Italy, in Germany, in Austria. The very effort of the government of Czechoslovakia to deal with the nazi agitators from the Sudeten region according to the liberal principles of Masaryk and Benes contributed to the downfall of Czechoslovakia. The French republic was fatally stricken in its Chamber of Deputies before ever Hitler's legions struck it down. Americans, reading that dismal story, have begun to ask, Must we go through the same thing here? Must we, in preserving the rights of freedom for groups which scorn the American tradition, open the way to our own destruction?

The rule which great jurists like Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis laid down in their historic dissents, the rule which Zechariah Chaffee has expounded in his classic *Freedom of Speech,* does not give a satisfying answer here. This is the rule, of course, of "clear and present danger." It is the maxim that freedom of speech or of conscience or any other freedom is to be upheld except in cases where the actions under review constitute a "clear and present danger" to the nation. But who is to judge when any danger becomes "clear and present"? Therefore there have begun to sprout suggestions that a new rule needs to be adopted—a rule which would guarantee the preservation of civil liberties to those who are dedicated to their preservation for others, and would deny those liberties to those who would (if they had power) deny them to others. It is in the direction of some such rule as this that the four members of the highest court who will probably rule against Jehovah's Witnesses—Justices Frankfurter, Roberts, Reed and Jackson—appear to be tending. But any such rule is also open to all the abuses of arbitrary application.*

This issue as to who is to be guaranteed civil liberty is the very center of the struggle for the preservation of the essential democratic freedoms today. And the return of these Jehovah's Witnesses cases to the Supreme Court will furnish a decisive test as to the degree of American loyalty to the ideals which inspired the writing of the Bill of Rights. Does the United States still hold without faltering to the rule laid down by Thomas Jefferson: "We are not afraid to follow the truth wherever it may lead or to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it"? The man whom President Roosevelt appoints to the supreme bench may well have it within his single power to answer that question. The greater is the importance, therefore, that the choice shall be made with great care and passed on by the Senate with full consideration of all that is at stake. And the churches should find means of impressing on the Senate their interest in the outcome.

*For a full length discussion of the issue involved in what might be called a selective application of civil liberties see the pamphlet, "Civil Liberties in a Period of Transition," by Dean David Reisman of the law school of the University of Buffalo, reprinted from Volume III of *Public Policy,* published by the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration.

Moral Aims and Victory

AT THE RECENT meeting of the Federal Council of Churches, in Cleveland, there were two official statements on the church and the war. The one which was formally adopted has been commented upon in these pages. (See editorial, "The Federal Council Bows to War Pressure," in the issue of December 23.) The other, a more thoughtful and discriminating statement, was contained in the report of the committee on the "State of the Church." This report required no action, but was received by the council with apparent respect and favor. Its interpretation of the responsibility of the church in the present world situation and of the Christian resources to discharge this responsibility, make it a notable utterance.

We are concerned at the moment only with that section which deals with "The Church and the War." It is generally understood that the report was mainly written by Professor John C. Bennett of the Pacific School of Religion, chairman of the committee, and certainly this particular section bears the mark of his characteristically careful and discriminating mind. The following seems to be the heart of the pronouncement:

> Your committee cannot claim to speak for the whole church, but it presents its view of the responsibility of the church in relation to the war in the belief that it is possible to affirm that there are momentous issues at stake in this war for which the Christian as Christian should have a special concern without abandoning those aspects of the Christian gospel which keep the national cause under God's judgment.
>
> Your committee believes that it is right for the church to declare that in this world-wide human struggle, it will be decided whether or not the following possibilities will exist for most of the people in the world:
>
> 1. The possibility of an order of life in which men will have freedom from the terror of lawless rule.
> 2. The possibility of an order of life in which there is progress toward social justice and racial equality.
> 3. The possibility of an order of life in which the church will have freedom to preach the gospel to the community at large and to train its youth.
>
> We say in each case that what depends upon the military outcome of the struggle is a "possibility" because we know that as much depends upon the way in which the military decision is used as upon the decision itself. We do not claim that the existence of the church or of the Christian faith depends upon the outcome of the war. We do not believe that God would be defeated by the defeat of the United Nations. But we cannot believe that God is indifferent to what is going on in the world today, to the official planned cruelty by which whole nations are reduced to a sub-human existence in the interests of a master-race, to the slaughter of hostages, to the massacre of Jews, to the open teaching by governments that men were made to obey the will of the state and that there is no law above that will.

In the studied care with which, obviously, this statement was composed, one detects an implicit intention to make what we believe is a fundamental and all-important

distinction. It is the distinction between the fighting war and the idealistic purposes which are generally associated with it. But it is also evident that the distinction had not yet become fully explicit in the author's thought. The effort to make this distinction—that is, to see that the war belongs in one category and the idealism in another—is the first step out of the predicament in which the Christian conscience finds itself. The interweaving of the war and the idealism is the great delusion with which war glorifies itself and claims the sanction of both morality and religion. It is the peculiar task of Christian thought to disentangle all this idealism from the fighting and to put the war in its true place and the idealism in its true place.

I

Manifestly, this is what Dr. Bennett and his colleagues have tried to do, and have partially succeeded in doing. Their strong emphasis upon the outcome of the war in terms of mere "possibilities" is a fruitful beginning. They see that the war, as such, will accomplish nothing in the moral realm; at most, it will only decide who is the victor. This distinction is vital. It is one thing to say that we are "fighting for" a new world order and another thing to say that, as the result of our fighting, there will emerge the "possibility" of establishing a new world order.

In the moral confusion which besets us there is one thing, at least, that we indisputably know: we know that we are *not* "fighting for" a new world order. We are fighting because it is necessary to fight. Until fighting became inevitable we and our allies were profoundly complacent about a new world order, so complacent that we were unwilling to take the pacific measures and to make the reasonable sacrifices which would have secured a new world order without the awful destruction of human life and the incalculable sacrifices which war entails. It is the necessity of fighting for something else than a new world order (our own national existence and treasures) that has suddenly made us interested in a new world order! No greater self-delusion can be entertained than the notion that we are *fighting* for idealistic and altruistic ends. It was not because of our idealism that we went to war. It is in the experience of war that the idealism has been generated.

To make this distinction is the beginning of a Christian solution of the problem which distresses the modern conscience. We say a "Christian" solution, because it is only in terms of the Christian faith that the two things thus distinguished can be separately understood and dealt with. Once the idealism is separated from the war, Christian faith comes in to put the war in its true place and the idealism in its true place. The war, as such, is utterly incompatible with the principles and imperatives of the Christian faith. All the ingenuity of nationalistic-minded theologians has failed completely, and will always fail, to present the war as justified in the eyes of the Christian God. Yet we must fight; there is no alternative. No one can suggest any possible alternative to fighting after the fighting has begun.

This is the kind of situation to which Christianity uniquely addresses itself. We are familiar with the way it addresses itself to individual experience, but we are blind to its operation in public and corporate experience, and because of this blindness the Christian church has no message for a nation or a world at war. Yet its message to the nation and the world is precisely the same as its message to the individual. The "world" is to be saved by the same gospel which Christianity offers to individual men and women. We all know what this gospel is. But let us state it here in a rough diagram.

Christianity comes to man "in his lost condition." His "lostness" consists in his being caught in those stern and inescapable necessities of life which stand over against his freedom, restricting it and threatening to destroy it. These necessities are of two kinds: (1) those which merely happen to him or in which he happens to find himself (for example, sheer calamities, or the circumstances in which his "lot" is cast), and (2) those tragic necessities which he has brought upon himself by his disobedience to the laws of God. Into the first of these situations Christianity comes bringing comfort and hope; into the second it comes bringing judgment. But into both it brings salvation—that is, it opens up a way of responding to the necessity, of dealing with it, which turns the necessity to good ends. "All things work together for good to those who love God."

This is the Christian doctrine of the sufficiency of divine grace. To one who suffers a sheer calamity which involves no guilt, Christianity brings comfort by adding the divine strength to the sufferer's weakness, and by revealing in the very affliction itself unseen possibilities of hope and good. To one caught in a tragic necessity which is the result of sin, Christianity brings the divine judgment which opens up a way of salvation through repentance for the disobedience of which the necessity is the bitter fruit. By a repentant response to the divine judgment, possibilities emerge from the very necessity itself which may transform it into a positive good. "God maketh even the wrath of man to praise him."

II

The above is a very scant outline of the most central reality of the Christian faith. Yet into this simple framework every human experience—individual or corporate—in which man finds himself wrestling with fate can be fitted, and must be fitted, if we are to find its Christian meaning.

We do not see the war in a Christian way until we look upon the whole scene of war through this window of Christian revelation and salvation. Into this frame of divine grace working through the divine judgment the war fits perfectly. And the first thing which such a view of the war discloses to the Christian is that the fighting must be sharply distinguished from the "moral aims." The fighting is a necessity, an unescapable judgment upon us for our corporate sin; but the "moral aims" spring from our repentance for our sin. These moral aims do not make our fighting righteous; our fighting is stern chastisement for our unrighteousness, whereas the moral aims are our repentant response to the chastisement of God's judgment.

Dr. Bennett's committee has seemed to be feeling after such an interpretation of the war. Its effort to segregate the fighting war from the moral aims gives evidence of this. In stating the outcome of the war in terms of mere

"possibility"—a possibility that will be open to the victors either to choose or to fling away—it removes the fighting war altogether from the moral realm and puts it where it belongs, in the realm of amoral necessity, where it can only be dealt with either as a stark calamity, which we know it is not, or as the tragedy of our communal moral disobedience, which we know it is.

And in declaring that the "moral issues" which are at stake are issues which will not be decided by the outcome of the fighting war, whether we or our enemies are the victors, Dr. Bennett and his colleagues also open the way for us to place these moral issues in the category to which they truly belong, namely, in our repentant response to the necessity of fighting, which is God's judgment upon our disobedience.

Thus the war is one thing, and the moral aims are another thing. They lie in different dimensions. (1) They spring from different sources—the war from our sin, the moral aims from our repentance for our sin. (2) They proceed on separate planes—the war on the non-moral plane of brute force, the moral aims on the plane where we meet divine grace. (3) And in their outcome they are still separate—the war issuing in a bare possibility, the moral aims in a solemn responsibility to bring forth fruits meet for our repentance.

The war has only one aim—victory. No other aim is commensurable with its nature as war; no other aim can find a footing in the dimension of sheer might and violence in which the war exists. Christian teachers stultify their faith when they call the war righteous. War flouts every moral law in its one aim of beating down the enemy. It has its own code, a code which makes virtues of evils which every civilized code of morality condemns, and which makes vices of virtues which every civilized code of morality upholds. Its good is evil, and its evil is good.

But nations are not willing to see war as it is. They glorify it as a high moral adventure. Using the colors of chivalry and morality, they weave a pattern of war which obscures its necessity, its irrationality and its brutality. Under the vast illusion which this pattern generates, the falsehood is established that the war is righteous. This would be bad enough, but worse still is the fact that this illusion also conceals from the nation its own guilty share of responsibility for the war, and so dries up the springs of national repentance and reform. No other hoax of such magnitude has ever been perpetrated upon the moral intelligence of mankind. That the Christian church has been taken in by it, is its deepest shame. That the church is slowly emerging from its blind acquiescence into the light of clear and discriminating thought concerning war is its own and the world's ground for hope.

In the simple but carefully studied distinction which Dr. Bennett and his colleagues make between the war and the moral aims which accompany it but are not identified with it, we have fresh ground for this hope. We do not wish to read into their statement something that is not there. But they do give us a clue which leads to a Christian interpretation of the war which we could only wish they had followed to more explicit conclusions.

The authors of this statement were, manifestly, wrestling with the problem at its crux. But they failed to take advantage of their own insight, and fell back upon the obscurantist statement about the "momentous issues at stake in this war." Consistency with their insight that the war leads only to a "possibility" would have required them to speak, rather, of the "momentous issues at stake" in the soul of the nation and its citizens in repentant preparation for dealing with the "possibility" when it should emerge.

III

A further flaw is their statement of this "possibility" in terms of positive assurance which, we believe, is not fully justified. In the outcome of the war, they say, "it *will* be decided whether or not the following possibilities *will* exist," etc. The presumption is that a military victory for the United Nations *will* so decide. Christian faith cannot so speak. Dr. Bennett's committee admits this when it bravely declares: "We do not believe that God would be defeated by the defeat of the United Nations." What they should have said, then, is that the outcome of the war "*may* decide whether or not the possibilities *may* exist," etc. "May" should be substituted for "will."

In this war the whole concept of "victory" needs critical analysis—both theological and empirical. There is a genuine possibility that our "victory" may be no victory at all, that the vast revolution of which the war is a surface expression may render us impotent to take advantage of our victory to realize our moral aims, even though our repentance be ever so deep and sincere. The victory may turn to ashes in our hands. We shall probably face a world so devastated and its controls so disintegrated by the very war itself that the chaos may be beyond the control of our best laid purposes.

The old centers of power, including that center of vast power which is our own nation, may be so debilitated, if not dissolved, by the war and the revolution which may ensue, that the world will have to wait for new centers of power to emerge before the new order of the world which Dr. Bennett envisages can begin to appear. It is quite imaginable that our victory and all our fighting and the slaughter which we have suffered and imposed, may prove in the end to have been a ghastly irrelevance to the attainment of the moral aims with which the committee's report would inspire us.

In our ignorance of the future and in our apprehension of the "possibility" that the vast forces which the war has unleashed will take control of our victory and turn it to ashes in the very moment when we grasp it, the Christian church may not speak with such utopian assurance as Dr. Bennett and his committee have done. One member of the committee, Dr. Elmer A. Fridell, sensed this possibility and asked that a footnote be appended expressing his dissent from the judgment expressed in the final paragraph in the above quotation. He agreed with his colleagues that "the differences between the two sides in this struggle are as stated," but felt constrained to add that he "has less confidence that the method of war will prepare the way for these possibilities." We believe this note of dissent would have been unnecessary had the committee consistently followed its own insight as to the distinction between the war and the moral aims.

Finally, had the committee held this distinction sharply

and constantly before its mind, it would also have been able to say more about God's relation to the war than it did. The only statement about God is the pathetically sterile one that "God is not indifferent to what is going on in the world today." This escape into a double negative is a confession of the abdication by our theologians of their Christian responsibility to interpret the action of God in war in the light of the Christian faith. To say only that the God who marks even the sparrow's fall is "not indifferent" to the vast slaughter of his children is so weak a statement on Christian lips that it affronts the Christian faith.

The war is either commanded of God, or forbidden by God, or a judgment of God. Christians can no longer believe that it is the will of God that we should fight and slay one another. Nor can they believe that God mocks our necessity by forbidding us to fight—he does not forbid where we cannot obey. It is therefore his judgment upon our sin. In so apprehending it, and in our repentant response to it, lies our own and the world's salvation from its awful curse.

Going Back Another Way

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It is taken for granted by most people who walk that it is better to go back by another way. To use the idiom of the pulpit, someone will say that it must be better because we return through different scenes with new beauties to admire, whereas if we go back by the way we came we are simply having the same experience twice. So it is better to have two dishes than to have a second helping of the one.

I am not satisfied with the arguments of Someone. I am not at all sure that when I have walked along a road for the first time I have seen it and do not need to see it again. I remember how you, sir, once raised the question whether we as a matter of fact read books twice. You thought that on the whole we do not, and I believe you deplored the fact. Certainly I never read a good book without wanting to read it again, and I assure you that I do . . . well, sometimes. But I certainly agree that to read a book only once is an insult to the author. In like manner I never see a road or a path till I have seen it twice at least. I know it tolerably well on the hundredth journey.

The first walk is an adventure in the unexpected; you do not know what is coming next. When the Duke of Wellington was on a journey in his post chaise, he invited his friends to guess what lay on the other side of the hills over which they went. He was always right, they say.

There is material for pleasant speculation on a first journey. But on the second journey the element of surprise is lacking; we know what is coming next. But that again gives a new occupation to the traveler. He can see the way not as a track between two points in space, so many miles apart, but as a scene of glory and beauty to be enjoyed for its own sake, with an order and a meaning of its own.

Therefore if by returning the same way I went the same journey twice, I should not complain. I have not done with a road when I have been once that way. I want, as we say, to take it in.

But you will notice that I have been cunningly leading to another contention: to return by the same road is not to repeat the journey twice. The same road is different to returning feet. Every road has two faces. It is one thing when it leads from Jerusalem to Jericho, another when it leads from Jericho to Jerusalem. Therefore when I go back the same way, I am in reality going back another way. I am completing the study of that road, and just as it shows itself in many moods, "smiling in the sunrise and frowning in the storm," so it is never the same when you go and when you return.

It is one of the conditions of the Pilgrim's Way which we call human life that we have no opportunity of seeing what it is like by the other way. Very different, we imagine; but we cannot know. I have heard venerable men say that they would like to live their lives over again. "Every minute of it," they added with pardonable rhetoric. What they mean is that they have found it a great way, and they give thanks "for all the blessings of this life." But would they like it over again?

Perhaps the one thing we can do is to return in our imaginations over the way. Begin today, then yesterday, and back stage by stage to as near the beginning as we can go without the help of a psychiatrist. (When we go with him it is a valuable journey, but not what I mean here.) As a spiritual exercise we can indeed read the story as it looks to one who returns the same way. When the Scottish saint wrote the words,

> When I stand with Christ on high
> Looking o'er life's history,

he perhaps had some such purpose in mind, going back by the way he came, but then how different!

But I suggest that even now after we have reached the end of a stage we should turn back and see by the inward eye what the road looks like. *Solvitur reambulando.*

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

In Memoriam

The Bishop of Valladolid
Shot at the siege of Irun, 1936

YES, he had tried to save the souls of men,
Nor ever looked upon it as a crime;
Nor thought to ask the grace of pardon when
He searched to find, in this, the troubled time,
Some way to change the maddened song that sings
Of bitterness, the bitterness that kills;
Some way to lift the weary, burdened wings
That have so long been foreign to the hills.
His faith reviled, they could not break its worth.
Chained in the street he did not ask to live.
The narrow span of one man's life on earth—
A breath—a sigh—yet all he has to give—
The rifles spoke. He asked for no delay,
Only the freedom of his hands to pray.

FLORENCE CROCKER COMFORT.

Civil Liberties: Slogan or Reality?

By William Henry Chamberlin

TO TAKE UP issues involving civil liberties in time of war is to run the risk of becoming a bore. One becomes unpopular because it is often assumed, in the high-pitched wartime psychological atmosphere, that one fully shares a particular viewpoint when one is merely defending its right to legal expression. Then there is the magnificent illogicality that stigmatizes as unpatriotic any attempt to defend liberty at home in the midst of a crusade to confer the Four Freedoms on the entire world. One is also in danger of being considered a bore because there is a tendency in some circles to consider our civil liberties record in this war as above criticism. Not so long ago Stanley High in The Christian Century was twitting non-interventionists with the alleged failure of their gloomy predictions about the fate of civil liberties to materialize.

So any all-out championship of the Four Freedoms at home as well as abroad encounters a double barbed wire line of resistance. Many people believe that the right to hold and express critical views is unimportant, even detrimental, in time of war. Many others are convinced that this right, within reasonable limitations, has been fully maintained in the present conflict. I take issue with both these propositions. Far from secondary or unessential, the maintenance of political and civil and personal liberties seems to me one of the most important civic duties imposed on every American citizen at the present time. Perhaps only those who, like myself, have lived for many years in countries where these freedoms are non-existent, or are greatly curtailed, can appreciate their supreme and indispensable value to the quality of civilized life.

I

The steady spread of the area of these liberties during the nineteenth century was one of the greatest progressively civilizing forces. The tremendous contraction of this area in Europe during the interval between the world wars was one of the most ominous signs that humanity might be entering upon a prolonged period of decline and retrogression. If it were possible to look forward to the year 2000, what would interest me, far more than any scientific or technical inventions that by then might have transformed material ways of life, would be the freedom of men to write and speak freely, without fear of any omnipotent secret police, to choose their rulers from below, not to have them imposed from above, to organize for cooperative ends voluntarily, not compulsorily. It would be very largely on the basis of the showing in this field that I would be inclined to set down the twentieth century historically as a progressive or a reactionary epoch in world history.

So I cannot for a moment accept the proposition that civil liberties really do not matter in time of war. The comforting theory that they should be put away in mothballs and then taken out, as good as new, when the conflict is over, carries no element of conviction. They must be vindicated when they are under the greatest pressure, if they are to possess any permanent value whatever.

This is especially true in an age when both the conditions of war and the probable conditions of postwar reconstruction tend to expand the administrative authority of the state at the expense both of the individual citizen and of his elected representatives. Shrewd political observers have already noticed that the average visitor to Washington is becoming less interested in Congress, more interested in the men at the top of such administrative institutions as Selective Service, the WPB, the OPA and the other alphabetical organizations which are more and more assuming control over the individual's daily life. This is an inevitable wartime development. But it is also highly probable that the task of postwar reconstruction, national and international, will be far more under governmental supervision than was the case after 1918.

Now if the individual American is not to become a robot in a bureaucratized state he must maintain unimpaired his right to discuss and criticize and organize for political and economic action. Otherwise we may find that we have succumbed to the supreme irony of falling into the grip of a home-grown totalitarianism while engaged in a great crusade to destroy totalitarianism abroad. An alert, courageous defense of civil liberties is the surest guaranty against such a turn of events.

II

Is our record on civil liberties in the first year of the war impervious to criticism? I would venture to suggest that no serious or responsible non-interventionist anticipated or predicted that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights would be abrogated by executive fiat the day after war was declared. The substantial weight of a predominantly democratic American tradition would have weighted the balance against any such step. Regular elections were held and hotly contested, criticism was free and even acrimonious during the Civil War, when the fronts were not in North Africa and the Solomon islands, but within close range of Washington.

The danger to civil liberties is of a slower and more subtle character. It is that of atrophy from disuse, occasionally varied by excessive use of administrative war powers. A candid survey of our first war year would prove, I think, that this danger is by no means imaginary, that the situation, from the standpoint of personal and democratic liberties, is not as good as it should be, although not as bad as it might have been.

There are several points for which believers in liberty may be sincerely thankful. There have been far fewer mob outrages against actual or suspected war dissidents than occurred during the First World War. Conscientious objectors have been treated more reasonably and more humanely. There has been little extra-legal persecution of "reds" and radical labor organizations. We have not as yet witnessed the unjust and absurd infliction of long prison sentences for what were, at the most, indiscreet expressions of opinion, unaccompanied by any overt anti-

war acts, such as were not infrequent during the First World War.

Yet when one has fairly recognized the legitimate grounds for satisfaction, there is still no cause for complacency or undiluted contentment with the record of the past year and the present status of civil liberties. The situation has fallen far short of the ideal in such fields as race discrimination, exercise of arbitrary administrative powers of repression, censorship and indoctrination.

III

Far and away the biggest blot on the civil liberties record has been the treatment meted out to people of Japanese origin, the majority of them American citizens, in the Pacific coast states. Over 100,000 of these west coast Japanese have been "liquidated" as a racial group, have been torn from their homes, often forced to sell their property at a fraction of its value and either confined without work or set to work for peon wages under living conditions which have apparently varied from fair to bad, but were in almost all cases much inferior to those under which the evacuees had been formerly living.

Making all due allowance for the fact that there was apparently no physical maltreatment, that the military authorities arranged the moving of the Japanese as humanely as possible, the measure was unpleasantly suggestive of totalitarian methods of dooming whole races or classes to drastic punishment. There was no attempt to discriminate between individuals whose actions had given rise to suspicion and those whom there was no reason to suspect. An admirable article in the October issue of *Harper's,* written by a United States intelligence officer who is evidently also an intelligent man, shows how this could and should have been done.

Neither of the arguments customarily put forward in defense of the "liquidation" of the west coast Japanese stands up very well under cool objective analysis. It is difficult to understand why, if such drastic measures were required for reasons of military security, nothing of the kind has been found necessary in dealing with the Japanese in Hawaii, a far more probable scene of hostile attack or attempted invasion than the west coast.

The other familiar argument is that the Japanese could not be protected against possible outbreaks of mob violence. But the principle that the remedy for such a threat lies not in the protection of the threatened group but in taking it into "protective custody" has very ominous implications for every racial minority within our frontiers. With characteristic farsighted wisdom some of the Chinese in the west seem to have recognized this point; the Chinese community in Salt Lake City took up a contribution for the relief of Japanese evacuees. This might seem to be an act of extraordinary idealism, considering what Chinese in China have suffered at the hands of the Japanese. But it is quite probable that the Chinese action was also motivated by the consideration that what happened to the Japanese today might happen to them tomorrow, under the influence of some wave of racial bigotry.

Racial friction in army camps in the south and in neighboring towns has led to a number of incidents involving bloodshed, and some very serious and responsible observers, both white and Negro, are concerned over the possibility of a major crisis in race relations. Here, of course, the situation is different from what it is in the case of the Japanese-Americans. The Negro is not being newly deprived of rights and liberties; he is simply becoming more impatient with the withholding of many of these rights and liberties. Psychologically this is very understandable at a time when Negroes are being mobilized and called on to shed their blood along with all other Americans. I recently had occasion to talk with a very sober, conservative Negro educator who said: "It is a little hard to know what to tell our young men when they ask why they should be called on to fight to give democracy and equality of opportunity to foreign peoples when they haven't got those things themselves at home." This is a question which all Americans of good will ought to take to heart.

IV

Censorship and legal and extra-legal persecution of critics and dissidents are questions that lie close to the heart of civil liberties. Personally I was not able to raise any great amount of blood pressure over such an exercise of censorship as the enforced non-publication of news of President Roosevelt's trip around the country, even though this precaution may well have been an exaggerated one. No fundamental issue of liberty is involved if a news item of this kind is temporarily withheld from publication. More serious is the practice of concealing or postponing the publication of bad military news to a point where people get a garbled idea of the course of the war and fall easily into the two undesirable extremes of overoptimism and overpessimism. And most serious is the forcible suppression of honest expressions of critical opinion.

A very objectionable exercise of thought control on an international scale, recently described by Raymond Daniell, London correspondent of the *New York Times,* is the attempt of American censors to prevent the British people from knowing what many Americans feel about British policy in India and the simultaneous attempt by British censors to prevent Americans from learning of unfavorable British criticisms of such episodes as the deal with Darlan. Effective postwar cooperation between this country and Great Britain, one may safely predict, will have to be based on mutual freedom and frankness of expression, not on the misleading of public opinion in each country which is the result of such unreasonable experiments in censorship.

An objectionable feature of American wartime censorship is the extension to the political field of the post office practice of declaring publications to be unmailable. There may be some justification for the exercise of this right when indisputable gross obscenity is involved, although one postmaster general whose personal life, by common report, was not that of a Puritan, had the effrontery to proscribe Tolstoy's *Kreutzer Sonata* as "obscene." But where the question involved is one of political or economic criticism no publication should be suppressed except on conviction under some definite statute in a court of law. Wartime judges and juries are seldom inclined to err on the side of leniency. But the requirements of formal

court procedure afford some protection against bureaucratic arbitrariness.

A good example of such arbitrariness is the recent systematic persecution of the *Militant,* an obscure little publication which is the organ of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers party. One issue, for November 7, was ordered destroyed and many others have been declared unmailable. The November 7 issue contained an article critical of Roosevelt's labor policy and several articles sharply critical of Stalin. Since the government's labor policy has been freely and generally criticized it may be assumed as probable that the suppression of the issue was inspired by a desire to suppress criticism of Stalin. With all our sympathy for the Russian people in their struggle against invasion, it is to be hoped that we are not obliged to follow Stalin's own summary methods of eliminating critics.

Another step that seems more calculated to give satisfaction to Moscow than to assure the security of America was the recent detention by the immigration authorities of Jan Valtin, with a view to internment as a "dangerous alien." Valtin is the pseudonym of a former German Communist named Krebs, author of the spectacular best-seller, *Out of the Night,* which is an extremely vivid picture of his personal experience as a Communist agent who suffered indescribable tortures as a prisoner of the Gestapo and came to America as a refugee, thoroughly disgusted both with communism and with nazism.

There has been no intimation, in the reports of Valtin's detention, of any new evidence of subversive activity. The technical charges against him are apparently based entirely on his book, which was published more than two years ago. One would think that there have been few works better calculated to promote American ideals by showing in the most vivid form the sickening brutalities and excesses that are the inevitable by-products of every form of extremist dictatorship. The shouts of exultation in the Stalinite press should be a warning signal that Valtin's detention may have been motivated by other considerations than those of American security. It is certainly to be hoped that the Civil Liberties Union, which has taken up this case, will be able to thwart any persecution which is unsupported by reasonable or adequate evidence.

A trial that will bear close watching by those who believe in civil liberties has been heralded by an indictment charging twenty-eight persons with conspiracy to injure the morale of the armed forces. It would be impossible, of course, to express an opinion on this trial until the evidence is fully presented. But one of the defendants in this trial, Ralph Townsend, is accused of sedition, in part on the basis of the following excerpt from an article which he published in 1941, before America entered the war:

> But the British are not far behind in this talent for publicity reversals. With a fifth of the earth's people kept under their rule by force, they bleat of fighting to liberate subject populations. Fighting now for the triumph of the bloodiest dictatorship ever known—Soviet Russia—they microphone to listening Americans their pious horror of dictatorships.

Without passing judgment on other evidence which may be offered against Mr. Townsend and the other defendants, the characterization of this passage as seditious seems a pretty grave straining of that elastic word. America was not at war when it was written and there has never been any law which forbade American citizens to refer to foreign governments in uncomplimentary terms. It is clear that, in following the course of this trial, there should be a careful effort to discriminate between concrete proofs of attempts to corrupt the morale of our armed forces and attempts to confuse with such a serious crime opposition to American involvement in war before Pearl Harbor or the holding and expression of views which may have been prejudiced, wrong-headed and extravagant, but which in no way involved treason or sedition.

V

The threat to civil liberties does not come entirely, or perhaps even mainly, from government bodies. War, which generates a high level of physical courage on the battlefront, often leads to a low level of moral courage on the home front. It not infrequently impairs the functioning of the normal instincts for tolerance, fair play, sense of proportion and common decency. While our record so far has been better than it was in 1917 and 1918 there must have been many personal tragedies like that of the Cincinnati pastor, the Rev. Bruce Maguire, who was hounded out of his church at the instance of wealthy parishioners because he granted the use of the church building to the Fellowship of Reconciliation for a meeting.

The future of civil liberties in the United States is bound up with the length of the war. With every year of conflict more men will be brought under the essentially authoritarian influence of the armed forces, the habit of submitting unquestioningly to administrative orders will become more ingrained in the civilian population, more normally independent critics will be swallowed up in the vast army of bureaucrats who can breathe no word of criticism of government policies. Our freedom from the postwar European curse of dictatorship during the interval between the two wars is to be attributed, in large measure, to the fact that our participation in that conflict was relatively brief, while our human and material losses were comparatively slight.

But, whether the present war may last for six months or for six years, one trusts that there will always be enough Americans who truly love liberty to keep the Four Freedoms a reality on the home front. There can be no stronger argument for the pragmatic value of unconditional maintenance of the absolute maximum of individual freedom compatible with wartime conditions than the record of those countries which went over to all-out streamlined dictatorship. Whatever may be the sins of omission of liberal democracies they pale by comparison with the frightful crimes of commission which are inevitable under any regime where the state sets itself above all legal and moral restraints.

I know that my own feeling for the absolute and supreme value of individual liberty was deepened immeasurably by years of residence and observation in countries where this liberty did not exist. Patrick Henry's oratorical phrase, "Give me liberty or give me death," is a sober statement of the alternatives which confront civilization in the twentieth century.

The Federal Council Declares War!

By Harold Bosley

IN EFFECT, the statement on "The Issues at Stake in the War" adopted by the Federal Council of Churches at its recent meeting in Cleveland is a declaration of war. It seems to have been intended to say to the nation, "Your cause is our cause. Your complete military victory is an essential step toward the realization of our plan for christianizing the world." That many influential members of the Federal Council have believed this from the beginning of hostilities in Europe is a matter of record. What was unforeseen was this successful attempt to secure the passage of such a statement as this. Admittedly produced under various pressures inside and outside the Federal Council, it might have been written in and for the use of the Office of War Information in Washington. Already men who otherwise have not the slightest interest in what the churches stand for, who have an atheistic conception of history, have said of the resolution, "It's about time the churches got in line!" The pressures which are reported to have beaten the Federal Council to its knees on this matter deserve to be listed and weighed. And the statement itself requires attention as to both its logical form and religious content. Especially important is it when set in relation to previous utterances of the council and one of its constituent commissions, that dealing with the bases of a just and durable peace.

What of the 'Pressures'?

What were these pressures? The first was said to come from the chaplains. Bishop Adna W. Leonard of the Methodist Church is reported to have urged the adoption of the statement, saying, "I speak in behalf of the chaplains who are in great distress of mind over the uncertainty of the churches." Other men made the same argument and plea. How much weight this plea actually carried, one cannot say. But it can be affirmed with confidence that the plea itself is logically worthless. It is an especially tempting form of special pleading based wholly upon misplaced sentiment. Why should chaplains be in a quandary? The situation within the churches is quite clear: there is a profound difference of opinion on the religious character of war. A man either believes that war is or can be an instrument of God's will or he does not, and between the two there is, finally, no middle ground, save that of discreet silence or double-tongued utterance. If the chaplains are uncertain about the mind of the church on war, they have only themselves to blame. The division within the churches on this issue has been perfectly plain for twenty years or more. If the chaplains are troubled by anxiety over the matter, so is every other minister.

If it be meant that the need of the chaplains for united support is especially acute because they minister to men facing death, an equally rigorous answer must be given. All pastors minister to men facing death. Seldom a day passes without a clergyman's facing death with some of his people. We do not demand unity among all Christians on the meaning of death before we seek to strengthen our people for it. The wide differences between a Catholic priest and a Methodist preacher in their interpretation of the meaning of death do not keep either one from doing all he can to be a source of strength to his people in earthly life's final encounter. If the chaplain requests one mind of the church on the matter of war before he can steel men for it, he is quite obviously, though perhaps unconsciously, asking for a shot of "unity" in order to numb some of his own doubts in the matter. He is not to be blamed for desiring the unity of his brethren behind his convictions; but no discerning chaplain will think for one minute that this resolution of the Federal Council has brought it. Rather the likely result will be a heightening of tension within the churches. To my knowledge few if any of the announced pacifist clergymen have altered their position, and they constitute a force which will make itself felt in the councils of the churches.

Few chaplains I have met have displayed any of this weepy desire for a smothering of differences in basic convictions about war. They have their view and I have mine; we usually manage to understand, respect and appreciate each other. So far as I can observe, they are proud of their calling as ministers and as soldiers, and are an excellent influence among the men. I am glad to be a "brother in the cloth" with them, even though I must wrestle against them to the end on this matter of war.

The Concern of the Government

In the second place, it was said repeatedly during the Cleveland meeting that officialdom in Washington wants a more definite word from the churches in support of the war. The Christian Century reports a rumor that "a distinct threat had been made by an authorized representative of the government to 'bring every institution in the nation's life, including every church, into the war effort.'" That has a familiar ring to it. German and Norwegian Christians would recognize it at once. They have been locked in bitter struggle with it for a long time now. Since when has it become necessary for the Federal Council of Churches *in America* to be influenced by the disapproval of government officials? They have not hesitated to flout the churches in many matters. How much attention have they paid to church representations about "drying up" the military reservations? President Roosevelt himself ridiculed the eighteenth amendment despite the fact that it was supported by the major Protestant churches in this country. He played fast and loose with the Federal Council in regard to the Taylor mission. Now, because he or some underlings frown upon the council, it must knuckle under and bow obediently!

A threat like the one referred to deserves to be hauled into the open, and the one who made it required either to make a public apology to the Christian churches of America or honestly and openly champion the idea that the church is the servant of the state. His utterance is of a

piece with the warnings that have been sounded of late by officers of the armed services to the effect that if the churches did not get enough volunteers for the chaplaincy, they—the armed services—would get them by resort to the draft. Fortunately, the saner policy of altering the qualifications for the chaplaincy, thus opening it to a much larger number of men, has been adopted and is likely to prove adequate.

But the point that stirs one is that the concern or even the threats of the government for a strong statement supporting the war could have been presented to and received by the Federal Council as a "pressure" of any consequence. It is hard to believe that the veteran church leaders comprising that distinguished body cannot see that the end of that road is the very relationship of church and state which their statement says they desire to combat and which will not be tolerated for one moment by any Christian church in America. They surely knew that the statement in question of itself could not heal the division in the churches' mind on this matter. Why not let the government wrestle with the plain fact which all of us must finally face—that there is no one mind on war even remotely possible in the Protestant churches of America today?

Sons in Service

Then there was the alleged pressure from service men. We want to believe that any position we take is right in the sight of God. This desire is the hallmark of Christian integrity. But it is of the essence of humility to realize that "His ways are not our ways" at all times and never wholly so at any time. Parents want to believe that the cause which their sons are championing with their lives is a righteous, even holy, one. The sons of the churches would be more than human if they did not share this desire. They want to believe that their cause is on God's side in his attempt to redeem the world from willful wickedness. There is not a minister among us but would give anything, short of his integrity, if he could fulfill their desires. Those who can do this with complete integrity, and many can, will do so. Those of us who cannot are not, however, left without a Christian witness—beginning with the word, "There is none righteous, no not one"—that "there is none good, but One, even God."

We make a mistake when we refer to men in uniform as "boys" and infer that they are too immature for spiritual meat. It is my almost daily experience that they are intellectually alert, mature and keenly alive to the reality of the cross-currents of opinion in church as well as national life and thought. The fact of division will not come as a surprise to those who are deeply acquainted with the church, and it is the fact to which they will return when the war is over. To one who argues that the fact of disunity weakens the morale of the men, the reply must be made: that is an irrelevant consideration so far as the church's witness is concerned. Any other answer simply begs the question. It would be as much to the point to argue that the present statement weakens the morale of conscientious objectors who have been assured of the support of their churches.

It is of utmost seriousness to the churches that their members both in and out of the armed services be kept fully sensitive to the reality of the tension which war always introduces into the Christian conscience. Probably the most convincing thing about the council's statement is the way recognition of this tension keeps cropping up despite strenuous efforts to hide it. I wonder whether the statement, if read in its entirety by any thoughtful soldier, would be "the solid backing" which its adherents hoped it would furnish him.

Logical and Religious Weaknesses

Turning to the statement itself, the first weakness that meets the reader is a glaring defect in logical form. It promises to be a statement of "the issues at stake in the war," so one naively assumes that the war referred to is the one now being waged between the Axis powers and the United Nations. So one is not surprised to find a statement of the war aims of the Axis powers—though they appear to have been formulated by either the OWI or the British Ministry of Public Information—and naturally expects this to be followed by a statement of the war aims of the United Nations by way of luminous contrast. But no, what one finds is a statement of Christian goals, and the whole arrangement points straight to the apparently desired conclusion that Christian churches rather than the United Nations are at war with the Axis powers!

To put the matter in a slightly different way: the statement purports to list the five objectives of the Axis powers, then measures them against the five objectives of a Christian world. Obviously, the logical procedure would have been to measure the Axis objectives *against those of the United Nations,* then to measure both against the goals of a Christian world and determine in principle what the work of the church would be in event of the triumph of either. The difficulty of securing a clear-cut statement of United Nations war aims may explain why this procedure was not followed. But the more likely explanation is that we are supposed to infer that the objectives of the United Nations are in exact opposition to those of the Axis powers. In which case we are led into a series of truly amazing suppositions!

What Are Allied Objectives?

Consider this as a possible sixth paragraph of the report, following and completing the line of thought begun in the fifth one: "The triumph of the United Nations would mean a deliberate effort (1) to release every realm of personal freedom from domination by the state; (2) to provide an ordered regime of law and justice for all men; (3) to establish a democratic fellowship of races; (4) to guarantee nations their right to self-government and release them from the threat of a supreme military power; (5) to permit a free education of youth in all types of social philosophy irrespective of the one basic in the nation's life." I do not say that these legitimately may be regarded as objectives of the United Nations. In point of fact, I do not see how they can be. The record of various of the United Nations is too eloquent in opposition. The inclusion of Soviet Russia in the United Nations rules out one and five, and possibly two and four, depending upon Russia's attitude toward the Baltic states. Pearl Buck in-

sists that number three is no longer an objective for the United Nations.

Other speculations could be indulged in but the main point has been made, namely, the Federal Council did only half a job, logically speaking, when it permitted the analysis of war aims to stand where it did. Fortunately, it recognized that the Christian objectives might not be those of the United Nations and would not necessarily be guaranteed by a United Nations victory. The Federal Council would have earned the right to speak as it desired to speak—that is, as a universal fellowship—had it proceeded to state clearly the conflicting war aims and the duty of the church in regard to them. But as the statement stands, the Federal Council was simply a council of national churches speaking a desired and requested word of comfort to the citizens of that nation which is now involved in war.

This logical defect indicates a much deeper and deadlier religious defect, namely, *the loss of ecumenical vision.* One of the strongest things about the utterances of the Federal Council since 1939 has been their vision of the unity of all men in Christ. Reread "The American Churches and the International Situation," published just two years ago, in December 1940. It is a broad-gauge document characterized by a refreshingly realistic picture of both the unity and the disunity in the thought of the churches on the matter of war and its attendant problems. It reaffirms the distinction between God and state, which tends to be blurred in the Cleveland statement. It is characterized by a moving call to repentance rather than a hollow call to arms. It closes with seven ringing assertions that could be echoed by all Christians the world around and, in my judgment, might well have been reaffirmed at Cleveland in place of the controversial statement. I do not mean that the Cleveland statement is a repudiation of the earlier one, but I do insist that it is cut along national rather than ecumenical lines. It is the product of the war hysteria which shouts that all who are not for us are against us. It makes only a grudging acknowledgment of the position of Christian pacifism—an acknowledgment which, amazingly, had to be added from the floor of the conference as an amendment!

Ecumenical Vision Lost

I reread the Message of the Delaware Conference after reading the Cleveland declaration. The Delaware pronouncement on "The Church and a Just and Durable Peace" is animated by a different spirit and seems to be moving in a different direction from "The Issues at Stake in the War." The former is as profoundly religious in its reliance upon God as the latter is obviously secular in its reliance principally upon man. The former is truly ecumenical in its vision, encompassing the needs of all men in terms of realistic principles, whereas the latter is primarily concerned to bolster the morale of a nation at war by attempting to describe a unity which simply does not exist in the thought of the Christian churches of the nation.

The Delaware document insists that it is the church's "inescapable duty to speak both to its own members and to the leaders of our political, economic and cultural life concerning what seems to it to be the will of God for the peaceful ordering of human life." The Cleveland statement, at best, is a lecture on morals read to the Axis powers (who surely need it) but says nothing whatsoever to "the leaders of *our* political" destinies (who apparently do not need it). I believe a Chinese or Indian Christian could read the Delaware document and rejoice, but he will turn away from the Cleveland statement with the sinking realization that, once more, the Christian churches of America are being asked simply to "present arms." Certainly much more study and calm consideration went into the Delaware report. It, too, is a part of the stated concern of the Federal Council. Let us hope that its spirit will ultimately prevail over this forced and dangerously misleading action which was taken by the delegates at Cleveland.

How Will the Statement Be Used?

Two dangers must be guarded against in regard to the statement we have been discussing. First, it will be used as precedent to force individual churches to recede from their present position in regard to the evil of war. And second, it will be seized on piecemeal by ardent war advocates to whip up the war frenzy in this country. Both dangers must be guarded against on peril of our Christian souls. The Federal Council can declare war, if it desires to do so, but that does not mean that the churches constituting the council must follow suit. Let us remember that it is possible for Christian churches to back this war so ardently that we shall back our entire missionary program and the entire ecumenical movement right off the map. Unless we as churches are in a position to *guarantee* our government's concern for "a democracy of races" to the peoples of the world beginning here at home, let us beware of even the appearance of placing the cause of a world-wide Christian fellowship in the train of military victory for the United Nations or any other power in this or any other war. And I challenge any man to defend, by reference to fact, the thesis that the government of even our own nation is honestly concerned about a true democracy of races.

The demons of entrenched privilege and virulent nationalism cannot be exorcised save by spiritually motivated persons whose stimulus to action is communion with the One God who is the loving Lord and Father of all men. And that formula has never yet successfully been translated into a slogan for military victory—though others have tried it before the Federal Council attempted it at Cleveland.

Scrap

DUMP the old truths,
The broken ethics,
The time-worn moralities
Into the official salvage depot.
Blood, sweat and tears
Will quickly transform them
Into a bright new barbarism,
A streamlined damnation.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Our Secret African Adventure

By Oswald Garrison Villard

SOMEHOW something seems to have gone wrong with our African invasion. Readers of these words will recall the jubilation with which our successful surprise of the French African colonies was greeted. The secret had been well kept, so far as this country was concerned, and in the marvelously well timed and swiftly executed landings and captures of key ports Secretary Hull saw a complete vindication of the policy of utilizing our foreign service men to act as spies on the countries to which they were assigned—long before we were in the war and while we were still neutral. Everybody rejoiced that the much desired second front had been established literally over night, that the greatest armada in all history had achieved its object with but slight losses and that the promised aid for the Russians had been given. When the English triumphed over Rommel and when Darlan came over to our side, everything went so fast that the American people believed that we would have our boys in Tunis and Tripoli by Christmas, if not long before.

But as the days and weeks have passed and our troops have not only not entered Tunis but have actually had to yield various positions bought at a high price in blood and toil, when it appears that for ten days at least our troops were practically without air protection and that torrential rains were making their lot even harder, there came a feeling of disappointment and bewilderment intensified by the stubborn refusal of the government in Washington to give the people any real picture of what is happening. On top of this came the assassination of Darlan, the decision to entrust the control of the civil administration of North Africa to General Giraud, and, as I write, the news that the proposed visit of General de Gaulle to Washington has been canceled and that the Free French are still insisting that the "men of Vichy" in the imperial council around Giraud shall be eliminated. But since these are the very men who voted Giraud into office as high commissioner, how can they be? It is hardly surprising that people are beginning to ask with alarm, "What have we got ourselves into?"

In a Serious Situation

The answer is that we have got ourselves into a very serious situation indeed, both military and civil, far more so than our press and public as yet understand. At this writing this military adventure has already saddled upon us the entire responsibility not only for the administration of the territories we have occupied, but for the support, the supplying, the feeding and the giving of fuel to the millions among whom we are now waging war against the Axis. On December 30 General Eisenhower's brother, Milton S. Eisenhower, gave out an interview stating that there was danger of serious trouble if substantial quantities of food and clothing did not reach North Africa by the end of January. He said there would likely be armed rebellion against us if that were not done.

To this the war department replied officially that "the arrival of many thousands of tons of American consumer goods in North Africa has helped to alleviate urgent need among the native populations of food, clothes, fuel, medical supplies and scarce commodities." It was explained that the American invasion when it first landed put ashore hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of tea, sugar and cotton cloth as barter goods in lieu of currency, and that since then many extra shiploads, including more tea and sugar as well as rice, cigarettes, tobacco, cotton, sheeting and blackout material, clothing, textiles, pencils, razors and drugs, have been landed—all to be rationed by tribal rulers under French supervision.

Undoubtedly this is something to be proud of. It is added that American gasoline and Diesel fuel are moving fishing boats out of the harbors of French Morocco where many were rotting, and have enabled some farmers to begin to use tractors again. Soon, it is hoped, agricultural products will decrease the burden upon American means and shipping. "These," says the official war department statement, "are not among the least of the factors which have changed despair to hope among the North African populations."

We Must Supply Even Coal

There is, however, nothing whatsoever in this statement to explain that the urgency of the situation in North Africa arises from our appearance there. Of course the population was in great distress, but there was a trickle of supplies coming from the United States and a great deal more from Vichy-France, notably coal. North Africa does not produce a pound of fuel, and when the Germans countered our move into Africa by occupying all of Vichy-France, any hope of further coal supplies from the French Mediterranean ports came to an end. That responsibility is now ours, and if Mr. Eisenhower is right it must be rigidly lived up to if we are not to have serious disaffection among the natives. Mr. Eisenhower, it should perhaps be added, is first assistant to Elmer Davis of the OWI. He spoke after spending two weeks at his brother's headquarters, and may be presumed to know what he is talking about.

Now this new responsibility is more than doubling the burden upon our transports to Africa, and here at home is straining further our railroad lines which were already taxed to the uttermost. Moreover, the need will continue. It will not be met by the supplies we have already been able to put in; these must be steadily supplemented if the natives are to regain anything like the standard of living to which they have been accustomed. But every shipload sent to North Africa has to be transported to our eastern seaboard. At the same time we are shipping additional troops and thousands of tons of ammunition, spare parts, tanks, trucks, mobile cannon and all the rest of the unending paraphernalia of modern armies. Immediately after our landing Secretary Knox announced that from that moment on the line of communication to

the Mediterranean had become the first charge upon our navy, that it was even more important than the lifeline we have been maintaining to England. All of this puts tremendous additional burdens upon our merchant fleet, and is perhaps one reason why Prime Minister Curtin has again publicly criticized the United Nations for the failure to send to Australia the supplies which he declares are absolutely essential.

A Responsibility That Will Grow

Of course if the Germans can be ousted promptly from Tripoli and Tunis, as everyone must pray will be the case, to that extent the situation will be relieved. But when we are in possession of those prizes we shall only be in position to begin an offensive against the continent of Europe with the hope of making that a real second front. (We may seek to invade by way of Salonika as in the last war, or by an attack upon the French Riviera, or try to land in Italy itself.) There is therefore very little hope that the American people will not have to continue to shoulder the responsibility for all North Africa. And it will be remembered that President Roosevelt gave the presence of our relatively small army there as the reason why it was necessary to stop gasoline sales for two days in the east, and to cut the A and B rations to three gallons a week.

I heard a journalist just back from Russia say the other day that Russia would not be satisfied and our national honor would be tarnished if we did not start a real offensive on the continent of Europe no matter what the cost in lives or money. Unfortunately this gentleman has plainly not sat down with paper and pencil to figure out the problem in logistics. In view of the size of the German armies he would hardly expect us to send less than 2,000,000 men to Europe as against the 200,000 or so that we have thus far landed in the fighting zone of Africa. According to our own army figures this would require 20,000,000 tons of shipping, and it will be recalled that our assistant quartermaster general in London has officially stated that it takes a ton and a half of shipping per month to maintain an American soldier on the other side of the Atlantic.

Still Shocked by Political Deals

Leaving the all-important field of logistics, the overseas political situation is bad enough. It is gratifying however to record that, despite the attitude of the administration and Mr. Hull's smug satisfaction with the achievements in North Africa and his lauding of Darlan, there is enough morality left in Washington outside of administration circles to be still deeply shocked by the government's attitude not only toward Darlan, but toward Franco, the blood-stained dictator of Spain, and the scions of the Hapsburgs in this country who have induced the government to accept a battalion of Austrians when it will do nothing whatsoever for the struggling Koreans, whose government in exile in China has been officially recognized by Chiang Kai-shek. The De Gaulle situation is trying to a degree. He is a prima donna, whatever his military worth. He has been known to assure people that *"Moi, je suis Jeanne d'Arc!"* Most of the leading French personalities seem unable to rise above their own ambitions and desires. They are still playing their own game, a habit which had much to do with the collapse of France before the German invaders. There is a story going around Washington quoting Churchill as saying that of all the crosses he has to bear the cross of Lorraine is the heaviest!

All of this means that there will be greater demands upon our statesmanship and diplomacy than ever before. It is most earnestly to be hoped that the government will eschew further compromises and have some regard for the character of the instruments it seeks to use. Although every effort has been made in England to stop criticism of the policies of the United States, Harold Laski writes in a recent issue of the *New Statesman and Nation* that "the Darlan episode still leaves a nasty taste in the mouths of most decent people." He says that Sir Samuel Hoare continues "his mysterious flirtation with that 'great Christian gentleman,' General Franco. . . . It would not surprise me, when the real crisis comes in Germany, to see London and Washington promoting the attractions of Schacht and Brüning as the fit inheritors of authority in Berlin."

Does the End Justify?

Of course nothing could be worse for our cause than to have the belief widespread here and abroad that we don't care what we stoop to, how unmoral or immoral our practices, just as long as we beat Hitler and the Japanese. The utter cynicism with which officials in Washington talked to me of the men we have bought in South America and Africa, and their approval of the use of food to bribe Franco not to join Hitler, left me stunned. If you remonstrate that all this ruins our assertion that we are in this war to purify the world they say, "Well, it saved American lives, didn't it?" Unfortunately it is a truth of history that unethical acts often have an extremely unpleasant way of revenging themselves upon those who authored them.

As a result of the censorship Washington is full of astounding stories, probably not one-tenth of them with any foundation, but that is what you must expect when the government refuses to take the people into its confidence. Why has not the OWI given us the facts about the assassin of Darlan, who he was and what he was? As long as the truth is not told, there are bound to be those who say that it is because the truth cannot stand the light of day. In any event, it is now plain to multitudes that in going into North Africa we have become deeply enmeshed in the currents and cross-currents of French intrigue and politics. We may be happy if it does not all wind up in civil war in that unhappy country and its colonies.

Of course Mr. Hull and Mr. Roosevelt would admit much of this and say: "So what? We had to undertake this military adventure in order to throw the Axis out of Africa, reconquer the Mediterranean, remove the threat of Spain's joining the Axis and of Germany's driving through the Near East to the Persian oil supply. We have to have North African bases for the invasion of the European continent, and we shall get them in a few months, and then no one will find fault with our methods, but will

admire our daring, our courage, our success, our victory." Undoubtedly. But in the meantime the American people should be won over to the undertaking by frankness, truth-telling and honesty in every deed in which the United States government is concerned. They don't like to read of an American general making a secret trip into Tunis with a bag containing $80,000 in gold which obviously was not intended to be used for the expenses of three men during a four days' stay. Americans believe that our cause is too just and our flag too fine to be lowered to such levels. Our people are even back numbers enough to think that in fighting fire with fire one should have some thought as to the chemicals to be used in kindling our blaze.

BOOKS

A Sixteenth Century Democrat

JOHN PONET, 1516-1556, ADVOCATE OF LIMITED MONARCHY. *By Winthrop S. Hudson. University of Chicago Press, $4.50.*

DEMOCRATIC principles and ideals were no sudden improvisation of the modern age of revolution. Their roots may be traced back much earlier than the sixteenth century—for example, to John of Salisbury, Marsilius of Padua and Sir John Fortesque, not to mention the Greeks, who would certainly have to be mentioned in a complete survey. But the political and religious situation in England in the sixteenth century stimulated new developments in the philosophy of government which have contemporary interest and are well worth our acquaintance. Among these valiant but almost forgotten champions of the rights of the people was John Ponet.

Ponet was an important figure among early English Protestants. Fame has passed him by—at least such fame as Ridley's and Latimer's—because he escaped martyrdom, as they did not. Ponet was at Cambridge when it was a hotbed of Protestant thought in the 1530's and '40's. He became an instructor in Greek and mathematics, took orders, was a D.D. at 31, became canon of Canterbury, chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, bishop of Rochester at 34, and the next year was translated to the more important see of Winchester. All this rapid advancement was in the reign of Edward VI. Then came Mary, and Ponet rose no more. He was deprived of his bishopric and imprisoned. But Gardiner, Mary's right-hand man, was glad to get rid of Protestants by letting them escape. Ponet went to Strassburg and died three years later. While still in England he had written several controversial works, including one defending the marriage of priests. In the last year of his life, 1556, he wrote the important work to which Dr. Hudson's scholarly monograph is especially devoted, and a photographic facsimile of the first edition of which constitutes the second half of the volume here under review.

This last book by Ponet is the *Short Treatise of Politike Power*, an essay in political philosophy defining the source and nature of the state's and the ruler's authority. Medieval political theory had stressed natural law (from God) as setting limits to the prince's power; and the Jesuits Suarez and Bellarmine, half a century after Ponet, were to oppose royal absolutism by asserting that the king's authority came not directly down to him from God, as the Stuarts and Bourbons were to claim, but up to him from the people. This also was Ponet's view, but with an important difference which made him a far more authentic father of democratic ideals than any of the Roman Catholic thinkers either before or after him.

When St. Thomas, or the Thomists after him from then till now, made "natural law" a barrier to the assumption of unlimited arbitrary power by princes, they marked out a path in which all lovers of freedom are glad to follow them. When they defined natural law as having its origin in the nature and will of God, the proposition seemed obvious to all who believed that God is a creator and that the laws of nature are his laws. But all this was only preparatory to something else. The monarchical church claimed exclusive jurisdiction and infallible knowledge in regard to all matters in which the laws of God are involved. (Papal infallibility as a dogma did not come until 1870, but a degree of authority presupposing infallibility had been claimed for centuries.) So the argument leads directly to the conclusion that the church and only the church can define the limits of the power of princes. That was precisely the conclusion to which it was designed to lead—a limited civil monarchy bounded on all sides by an unlimited ecclesiastical absolutism. This is substantially the position of those Jesuit writers whose assertion that rulers get their power from the people is often cited today to prove that they are the real fathers of Jeffersonian democracy—without stopping to note that they strictly conditioned the exercise of that "power of the people" upon the consent and approval of the hierarchy.

Ponet also affirmed that human rights are grounded in the nature and will of God, but he denied the competence of the church to speak for God in governing the exercise of those rights. Defining his attitude, Dr. Hudson says: "Unlike the papists, who limited obedience to the civil power by the superior authority of the church, Ponet grounded his theory of obedience—or, as it might be better to say, of disobedience—on the right of individual judgment. This was a right which, with regard to religious matters, he had asserted most boldly six years before in his Lenten sermon before the king. He now was to extend it into the political field." To quote Ponet's own words concerning the direct and personal responsibility of each individual to God for his conduct as a citizen:

> It is not the mannes warrant that can discharge thee, but it is the thing itself that must justifie thee . . . before the throne of the highest . . . ; thou thy self must answer for thy self and for what so ever thou hast done. And therfore christen men ought well to considre and weighe mennes commaundmentes before they be hastie to doo them, to see if they be contrarie or repugnant to Goddes commaundmentes and justice: which if they be, they are cruell and evill, and ought not to be obeyed.

Ponet did not shrink from the ultimate logic of his argument, which led to the justification of tyrannicide by private individuals when legal means failed and tyranny had become insufferable. But this, as he makes clear, is not designed to condone irresponsible personal vengeance against a magistrate but to affirm the right of revolution by the masses of the people when their chosen and legal representatives have played them false. A dangerous doctrine, to be sure, but less dangerous than the assumption that any one man has author-

ity to speak with the voice of God. Without it, democracy would not have got far.

Dr. Hudson's thoroughly documented study is a sound piece of historical research which has very direct bearing upon questions of present importance.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books Received

In Commemoration of William James, 1842-1942. Columbia University Press, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

A Short Life of Kierkegaard. By Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press, $3.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Story of Jewish Holidays and Customs. By Dorothy F. Zeligs. Bloch Pub. Co., $1.50. Clearly and interestingly written for Jewish children of from about nine to eleven years and attractively illustrated.

The Meaning of Marriage and the Foundations of the Family. By Sidney E. Goldstein. Bloch, $1.00. The author, who is a rabbi and chairman of the Jewish Institute on Marriage and the Family, treats the more important aspects of domestic relations from the standpoint of a Jewish religious teacher and also from that of a social scientist.

Folk and Faith, The Confirmant's Guide Book. By Elma Ehrlich Levinger and Lee J. Levinger. Bloch, $1.25. A handbook of the Jewish religion designed for use in classes for the preparation of Jewish children for confirmation.

The Small Sanctuary, Judaism in the Prayerbook. By Solomon B. Freehof. Riverdale Press, Cincinnati, $2.00. The Jewish Prayerbook was a product of the synagogue and stands historically as a literary link between the Old Testament Scriptures and the Talmud. Rabbi Freehof's work as professor of liturgy in Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, has given him scholarly knowledge in this field, and as rabbi of important congregations he has had experience in devotional leadership. This will be of obvious value to Jews, but it is to be recommended also to Christians who wish to gain insight into the meaning and spirit of Jewish religious life.

Crumbs and Character: Sermons, Addresses and Essays. By Leo Jung. Night and Day Press, New York. Rabbi Jung, of the Jewish Center, New York, is the author of a long list of scholarly works. The present volume is a miscellany of collected papers on the most diverse themes, from Judaism and democracy to Dr. Fosdick's religion (of which Dr. Jung does not think highly) and the present painful problem of "Jewish anti-Semitism." He is often provocative and always interesting.

This Day and Always. By Richard L. Evans. Harper, $1.50. Each Sunday morning for many years a broadcast by the Mormon Tabernacle choir has gone forth from Salt Lake City. Part of the program is a brief inspirational address. Mr. Evans is the speaker and this is the second published collection of his messages. These are sensible and helpful words about the conduct of life and its spiritual values. Times have changed (and so have the Mormons) since the followers of Joseph the Prophet were being chased out of Missouri with pitchforks and shotguns. These broadcasts and the book which gives permanence to the fleeting word are not Mormon propaganda, but they cannot fail to win good will for the Saints while ministering edification to the Gentiles.

A Whisper and a Portion, Poems for the Quiet Hour. By Hazel M. Kerr. Author, Care of First Presbyterian Church, San Jose, Calif., $1.25. Out of long suffering, mastered and turned into spiritual experience and a stimulus to reflection and song, have come these poems of insight and uplook. We know of one church which has purchased a supply to give to shut-ins and the sick instead of flowers. Not a bad idea.

Eulogy of Judges. By Piero Calamandrei. Translated by John Clarke Adams and C. Abbott Phillips, Jr. Princeton University Press, $2.00. A "eulogy of judges," and written by a lawyer! But it is much too discriminating to be merely a eulogy, and it touches other topics than judges. If it were not so graceful and ingratiating in style, it might almost be called an informal discourse on the philosophy of law. At any rate it is a wise and beautiful piece of literature. The author is a professor of law in the University of Florence. His temper is that of the Italy we used to know and love.

A Permanent United Nations. By Amos J. Peaslee. G. P. Putnam's Sons, $1.50. The author has a clear-cut plan for the political organization of the world after the war. In the first place, Germany, as a "habitual offender" against peace and decency, must be kept under restraint as long as necessary. Japan does not enter into his calculations, doubtless because most of the materials here presented were written before Japan had become public peril number two. The United Nations must have a written constitution defining the sovereign rights that the separate nations retain (a sort of bill of rights for nations) and those which are surrendered to the union. The last section of the book is the text of a "proposed amendment to the judiciary articles of the constitution of the League of Nations" which the author submitted in 1919 to the American delegation at Versailles and which, after its failure to be adopted, he was requested not to release for publication at that time. Mr. Peaslee is an experienced specialist in international law.

CORRESPONDENCE

Not So New

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In correcting Dr. Niebuhr's statement that you make an " 'absolute' distinction between a society at peace and one at war," I note that you write: "The distinction between wartime and peacetime is made with respect to a specific matter, namely, the citizen's freedom to oppose war."

I do not see how any sensible person can disagree with this point in your fine reply to Dr. Niebuhr. Furthermore, I do not understand how a scholar like Dr. Niebuhr can write that this distinction has "never been heard of before in all Christian history." It certainly has been heard of before! Emil Brunner states it very clearly in *The Divine Imperative.* And Nicolas Berdyaev, on page 255 of *The Destiny of Man,* writes: "Two entirely different questions must be distinguished with regard to war. There is the question of *the prevention of war,* of the struggle for the spiritual and social order of life in which it would be impossible, and there is the question of the *personal attitude to war once it has begun* and become a part of the nation's destiny."

First Methodist Church, CAXTON DOGGETT.
Mount Dora, Fla.

Light Breaks by Discussion

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Reinhold Niebuhr's cryptic commentary on Dr. Morrison's recent book served the purpose of further clarifying your position to me. Perhaps you ought to thank him for the favor.

I must confess that your first exposition of your non-pacifist position almost tempted me to place you in the same category with Reinhold Niebuhr, but your subsequent elucidation of the meaning of penitence seemed to me to indicate a very constructive and positive ground on which both pacifist and non-pacifist could stand. Certainly we should not at this time allow the differences in the two groups to prevent their cooperation in an area of agreement. And certainly we should not allow the trends of this war to get so far beyond our control that the influence of Christianity upon the postwar world becomes completely negligible.

The liberals who now silently consent to the increase of the arbitrary power of government because it is in the hands of liberals will one day awaken to the fact that this very power has robbed a generation of the mind necessary to cope with the problems of peace. They would do well to plan now for an extensive program of salvation for the men in the service. Why do they sit by so complacently while this Frankenstein devours the soul of our youth?

I hope that you or some other prominent Christian leader will

begin to agitate for a program of education for postwar peace to be carried on in the military camps of our nation. That, too, will be positive penitence!

St. Paul's Evangelical and
Reformed Church, ROBERT D. BRODT.
Franklin Park, Ill.

God Will Speak!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A word of deep appreciation should be spoken to the editor of The Christian Century for making available to us Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr's review of his book, *The Christian and the War,* and for his brilliant and devastating reply. This is a battle of the giants. It is the true substitute for war. When two good men come at grips with an idea that is at the root of our world-present malady it is well for the ordinary layman to watch and listen and hope for the triumph of the right. The character of the contestants and the brilliance of their performance is enough to dazzle the ordinary reader who must needs read with a finger on each line.

It is commendable on the part of the editor of The Christian Century to call for a new orientation in theology in relation to the war. Should there be a theology for the Germans and Japanese and another theology for the United Nations? What should be the Christian attitude toward war? Dr. Niebuhr is not looking at the problem of war from the angle of the theologian but from the point of view of the mere moralizer. He is not answering the question, What is God saying about the war? He is answering the question, What are Churchill and Roosevelt and Stalin saying about the war? But we are not interested in what they have to say; we want to know what God has to say!

If the theologians have nothing to say in this tragic hour, let them be silent. God will finally speak through events!

Calvary Baptist Church, VICTOR F. SCALISE.
Lowell, Mass.

Anybody Know?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Can you or any of the readers of The Christian Century identify the following quotation? "Religion is man's reasoned thought about the universe of which he is a part, the emotion evoked by that thought, and the conduct in which it issues."

1900 Yosemite Road, ROBERT F. LEAVENS.
Berkeley, Calif.

Right! Repentance Should Begin Now!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The discussion of repentance in the second installment of your reply to Dr. Niebuhr illuminates your position considerably. You say repentant people would be "dedicated to the doing of those things in the day of victory which they now wish to God they had done long ago." But why put it off to the day of victory? Couldn't some of the fruits of repentance appear now? Must they not? A convert who puts off into the future changes which could come at once is suspect. Pearl Buck evidently believes the treatment of India and Oriental nations in general so far indicates a lack of genuine repentance.

Referring to your criticism of the pacifist position, you are no doubt right that even the pacifist is of necessity involved in the war. But more choice is left to him than to "decide on which side he shall fight." He also has the choice of *how* he shall "fight." He is not just trying to keep himself from contamination. He is conscientiously trying to throw his weight where in the long run it will count for most. If the nation permits him only to perform trivial tasks, or to occupy a jail cell, when he is willing to undertake sacrificial work, then it is the nation's fault and both are losers.

Some of those who distort the pacifist position try to thwart the giving of creative opportunities to them, for it would reveal how their attitude is misrepresented. Even some organizations bow to this. The Red Cross has a rule against employing conscientious objectors, though some of its work, such as feeding children or among refugees, would be very acceptable to them. If the crisis we face is more than military, there ought to be many ways to use the abilities of the pacifists without corrupting their consciences —confused though they might be.

Presbyterian Church, HOWARD OSBORNE.
Sidney, Neb.

From Rabbi Wise

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In The Christian Century of December 9 I read an editorial statement, presumably from your pen, under the title, "Horror Stories from Poland." It would appear that you are more interested in seeking to prove that the figures which I gave out in the name of five important Jewish organizations of America are inaccurate in respect to Jewish mass massacres in the Hitler-occupied countries than you are in making clear to American Christians how unspeakable has been the conduct of Hitlerism against the Jewish people.

You make what I would regard as a false charge against me if it were true, as it is false, which charge moreover is of a piece with a number of your references to the writer in recent years. The Christian Century writes: "Although Rabbi Wise went out of his way to place the responsibility for the charges on the state department, that branch of the government has conspicuously refrained from issuing any confirmation." Had you taken the trouble to inquire, you would have learned that the state department not only authorized the publication of the statement I made, but for months had been seeking with our help to make sure of the accuracy of the statements with respect to Jewish mass slaughter.

I assume that you may have read the declaration in the House of Commons a few days ago by the minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Eden, which declaration spoke for the United Nations, including our own country, the governments in exile and free France, and has made a permanent record of the Hitler infamy.

I am not interested in having an apology from you for your insinuation with respect to the lack of veracity which you chose to impute to me. What interests me profoundly as a Jew, as an American, as a reverent comrade of many Christian ministers and laymen throughout our country, is the knowledge that The Christian Century almost uniformly takes a frankly or disguisedly anti-Jewish attitude whenever it deals with Jewish subjects. Whether this is merely the reflection of a personal Judeophobia on the part of the editor, or whether it conveys the considered attitude of the editorial board of The Christian Century, it is not for me to say. Christian ministers with whom I have discussed the problem have felt that your article reflected the subconscious desire not so much to express compassion for the victims of Hitlerism as to shield Hitler from the consequences of his crime. I confess that I cannot quite understand that you should seem to be spiritually unconcerned about the tragic fate of the people whose gift to the world you purport to revere and worship.

I take it for granted that the above letter will appear in the columns of The Christian Century, and for your sake I trust a deeply penitential word of your own may be added.

The Free Synagogue, STEPHEN S. WISE.
New York, N. Y.

[On the day Rabbi Wise's statement was published charging Hitler with paying for Jewish corpses to be rendered into fats and ordering that *all* Jews in German-occupied Europe should be killed by the end of last year, The Christian Century inquired of the state department concerning the authorization by that agency of the government which Rabbi Wise again claims in this letter. The state department promptly replied through an accredited officer. Unfortunately, it specified that its reply was "not for publication." We have that reply in our files; it does not support Dr. Wise's contention. Our editorial comment on his charges was written in the light of the state department's reply to our question.—THE EDITORS.]

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

See Grave Abuses Of Child Labor

Committee Warns Against Weakening Law's Protection of Children—Asian Traveler Returns

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Dec. 29.—Increasing child labor combined with grave abuses was noted last week by the National Child Labor Committee. Warning that the war "calls for great sacrifices, but not for the abandonment of reason and judgment," they declared that "we are not helping win the war when we permit an 11-year-old girl to work as a field hand until she literally drops in the field and is finally sent to a hospital with heart trouble. We are serving no good purpose when we allow a 15-year-old boy to work with a dangerous mangle in a laundry until his arm is torn off above the elbow." Even more significant, the report continued, is the "thoughtless clamor, heard from many sources, for eliminating or suspending statutes for the protection of young workers." It said that "recently the head of a prominent institution for children publicly called for suspension of child labor laws for the duration of the war, in evident ignorance of the grave consequences that would flow from the indiscriminate exposure of children of any age to gross forms of exploitation which are now outlawed. Such suspension would be a most effective way of crippling the nation's manpower over the next few years." Evidently there is a growing concern with regard to the status of children in a war period—and it is high time.

* * *

Carpenter Back From Far East

J. Henry Carpenter, who went to India and China six months ago under the auspices of the United China Relief, returned to his home in Brooklyn last week. He had completed a tour of 28,000 miles undertaken for the purpose of studying industrial cooperatives for production of essential materials required under the war emergency. A new life is manifest in China, he said. That country is carrying on magnificently despite terrific hardships in daily life and the lack of materials of all kinds. Dr. Carpenter stated that the cooperative movement in China is actually a people's movement. In India he observed an ominous unrest under the outer calm and says it may erupt at any time. He said he was quite satisfied with his trip and felt that he had been able to accomplish what he had set out to do. He will present his views at meetings arranged by the United China Relief.

* * *

Labor Favors Closer Tie with Russia

William H. Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board, and Sidney Hillman, special adviser to President Roosevelt on labor problems, declared recently that the future of world security dictated close postwar cooperation among the United Nations and especially with Russia. They spoke at a dinner for Russian war relief attended by both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. labor leaders. James J. Walker, former mayor and now impartial chairman of the cloak and suit industry, was chairman.

* * *

Aid to Prisoners Is Resumed

Shipment of supplies from America to prisoners of war in Germany, halted by the German occupation of the remainder of France, has been resumed, the Y.M.C.A. War Prisoners Aid announced here last week. Fifty cases of parcels for prisoners in Germany, held up at Marseille, have gone through to Geneva, the committee said, and 176 more cases are on the way to Marseille or Lisbon. They will be transshipped to Switzerland and then sent to Germany. The War Prisoners Aid announced also that it had bought $100,000 worth of athletic equipment for prisoners in Germany and Italy and was buying $50,000 worth of musical instruments to be distributed to Allied prisoners in the two countries.

* * *

Negro Appointed to Government Job

Charles C. Berkley, a young Negro who has been one of five field representatives of the state committee on discrimination in employment, was appointed yesterday to be executive director of the committee by State Industrial Commissioner Frieda S. Miller. Mr. Berkley succeeds Andrew C. Doyle, who returns to the state mediation board as supervising mediator after a one year's leave of absence.

* * *

Find Modern Parallel To Egyptian Exodus

The American Academy for Jewish Research held its 15th annual meeting last week in the Jewish Theological Seminary. Prof. Salo W. Baron of Columbia University was re-elected president. Dr. Julius Brutzkus of the Yiddish Scientific Institute presented a thesis on the Jewish Khazar state in southern Russia in which he traced the influence of Jews and Turks on Russian life in the eighth and ninth centuries. Dr. Ilse Lichtenstedter of the Jewish Theological Library wrote on the situation of non-Moslems in the early Moslem empire, declaring that Mussulmans tolerated neither Jews nor Christians. Prof. Isaiah Sonne of Hebrew Union College compared the Spanish expulsion of 1940 with the exodus of the Jews from Egypt.

W. GLENN ROBERTS.

Commemorate Proclamation Of Emancipation

On Jan. 1, 1943, the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches commemorated the 80th anniversary of the issuance by President Lincoln of the Emancipation Proclamation by sending to every minister of that denomination a statement on race relations entitled, "The Unfinished Task of Freedom." Copies may be secured from the council, 287 Fourth Ave., New York.

Northwestern Is Given $20 Million

Murphy Bequest Endows Technological Institute—Crime Rate Drops As Army Takes Teen-Aged

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Jan. 4.—By the will of the late Walter Patton Murphy, head of the Standard Railway Equipment Co. of Los Angeles, Calif., Northwestern University will receive $20,000,000 supplementing a gift of $6,735,000 made in 1939 for the establishing of a technological institute at the university. The gift lifts Northwestern to fifth place among American educational institutions in the size of its endowment, which is now surpassed only by the endowments of the universities of Rochester, Harvard, Yale and Chicago. In spite of the timeliness of such a gift in helping the war effort, thoughtful Chicagoans received the news last week with misgiving that this obvious trend should be gaining so much power in our educational institutions in an age when there is already too much emphasis on material things. The opening of the technological institute at Northwestern this year, now to be supplemented by this huge endowment, is likely to have far-reaching effects on the character of what has been one of the beacons of liberal education in the midwest.

* * *

City's Crime Rate Shows Decrease

Chicago had 218 murders in 1942 against 228 in 1941. Robberies and burglaries showed a small decline also. The state's attorney secured convictions in 81 per cent of the cases tried, but in only 50 per cent of the cases tried before jurjes. The belief is that the more doubtful cases were taken before juries. The Chicago Crime Commission thinks that the war has had no effect on crime; that the slight decrease may have been due to the induction of 1,000 parolees into the armed forces. Chief Justice John A. Sbarbaro in his annual report expresses the belief that court cases will decrease in 1943 because of the lowered draft ages, since teen-age criminals commit 75 per cent of the crimes.

* * *

FBI Rounds Up Touhy Gang

The FBI's successful trapping of the nation's most dangerous criminals, Roger Touhy and Basil Banghart, on the loose with five confederates since their escape from the Stateville prison near Joliet on Oct. 9, let Chicagoans heave a sigh of relief and enter the new year a lot more cheerfully. It was a completely successful catch, every member of the gang being snared in the early hours of Dec. 29 without a loss or injury to any member of the FBI. But many are asking why the Chicago police proved so incapable of finding and capturing this gang which, it develops, had lived and operated ever since its escape in

the same vicinity in which Touhy maintained his former headquarters.

* * *

Drop Parsonage Addresses from Classified Phone Book

It probably has no connection, but the R. H. Donnelley corporation, whose labor practices were the subject of a recent investigation by a group of ministers, has notified ministers here that the listing of clergy residence addresses as well as office addresses in the classified telephone book will be discontinued. That will mean that the names of most of the Protestant clergy will disappear from the classified book, since most of them have their offices in their residences. The clergy list in the classified telephone book has hitherto been remarkably complete, probably serving business houses as much as church people. The letter from the R. H. Donnelley corporation states that the action has been taken because of protests from other professional or business people to whom such listing is not afforded. It is passing strange that the situation arose just at this time.

* * *

Calls on High Schools to Adjust for War Work

High schools should rearrange their schedules so as to release boys and girls for part-time work in industry to meet manpower needs and "should attempt immediately to identify the students likely to make good physicians, nurses, dentists, engineers and teachers, and send them on for college training at least a year sooner than ordinarily would be the case," says Harl R. Douglas, director of the University of Colorado's college of education in the current issue of *School Review,* published by the University of Chicago. Professor Douglass points out that high schools are largely wasting their time giving military training, for the armed services prefer to do that themselves, but says that they might give courses in map reading, physics, direction finding, mathematics and meteorology, which would represent a serviceable use of the limited time available for secondary training of youth.

* * *

Consult on Future of Work Camps

One hundred and twelve veterans of Christian work camps, projects of good will in problem areas in this country and Mexico, met in Evanston from New Year's Eve to Jan. 2, under the auspices of the Friends Service Committee and the Congregational work camp committee. The meetings, opening with a significant New Year's worship service conducted in the traditional fashion of the Friends, were held in the Friends meetinghouse in Evanston. Representatives of organized labor, cooperatives, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Negro interests, postwar agencies, and federal bureaus including the FHA, led the thinking of the various groups of the conference. Leaders saw in this conference assurance of an adequate leadership to continue and expand the undertaking. They were particularly gratified by the presence of Negro workers, which they interpreted as assuring indigenous leadership for work in Negro areas in the future. New types of work for 1943 were suggested, one of the most important being the proposal that some of the projects be put on a year-round basis.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

for Your Men at War!

STRENGTH FOR SERVICE *to God and Country*

Specify Quantity Wanted in Each Binding

(FOURTH HUNDRED THOUSAND)

• Our fighting men are strong in brain and brawn —strong in mind and muscle—, but still they yearn for strength. They crave *spiritual strength* to maintain Christian faith, in a soldier's world of temptation, hard living, danger, and death.
• Give to those fighting men this pocket-size book of daily messages and devotions prepared by 370 outstanding ministers, educators, and laymen of America.

• The sailor and the soldier will understand the language of this book. They will find in it the strength every fighting man craves.
• Just the size for the pocket of a uniform. Bound in flexible moisture-proof cover, with ribbon marker. Printed on thin Bible paper with tinted edges.
• "I should like to see the book in the hands of all our men under arms." —*Admiral Hepburn.*

for Those at Home

Abundant Living

The New Book by E. STANLEY JONES

Here is the answer to thousands of requests for a new, dynamic book of devotions for these times. It contains spiritual nutrition, medicine for the soul—vitality, comfort, inspiration, guidance, for pastor and for layman.

• *FOR THE PASTOR BECAUSE* he will discover in this wholly new approach a technique of relating Christ and people; a text which will help to reduce spiritual illiteracy among otherwise intelligent men and women.

• *FOR THE LAYMAN BECAUSE* it begins *where the people are* and leads them day by day through progressive Christian experiences to new heights of abundant living—mental, moral, social, spiritual.

• The book will serve for personal or family devotions, for group or class study (it is arranged in seven-day units), or for continuous creative reading. It is handsomely printed and handsomely bound. Size 4½ by 6 inches; 384 pages.

$1

Something Different for Lent

The Sanctuary

A Devotional Manual for Use by Christian People Everywhere During the Lenten Season!

THE SANCTUARY is written for Christian people who wish to utilize the pre-Easter season to replenish spiritual resources. Each daily devotion is conveniently and effectively arranged: the Scripture reading and text; the daily theme; the meditation; the prayer-hymn. *But the material does not end there.* For each day a *project* is proposed—such as "Consciously relate everything in your life to Christ and His way of life."

Some of the Daily Themes: THE STEADFAST FACE. THE SUFFICIENCY OF CHRIST. THE RETURN TO CHRIST. STRONG IN THE STRENGTH OF GOD. TRUE RICHES. ONE INCREASING PURPOSE. PRAY WITHOUT STRAIN.

THE SANCTUARY is set in clear type, printed on good paper, pocket size, with a fine illustration from *Our Dwelling Place* on the front cover.

Prepared by LUCIUS H. BUGBEE

Prices: $1.85 per 100; $1 for 50; 30c a dozen; 5c each.

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE

Abingdon-Cokesbury

PRICES SLIGHTLY HIGHER IN CANADA

Scots Pay Tribute To Desert Dead

Victory in North Africa Is Celebrated by Ringing of Church Bells—Week of Witness Unites All Faiths

(Correspondence from Scotland)

EDINBURGH, Nov. 30.—For two and a half years the church bells had been silent throughout the country. When invasion became probable, it was decreed that church bells should not be rung except as a warning that the enemy had set foot on our shores. The victory in Egypt, however, seemed to demand an expression of the nation's thankfulness. So the prime minister decided that the bells should ring Sunday morning, Nov. 13. The familiar sound brought a thrill to the hearts of the people. Critics had deprecated this gesture as likely to make some feel that the victory was already sure. But there was little sense of jubilation. The mood was rather one of sad remembrance and deep gratitude. As one writer expressed it: "The bells will summon us not to boast over our triumphs, but to pay tribute to those young men who have died in the desert. They will call us to dedicate ourselves again to the completion of the work which these young men have so gloriously begun." Scotland especially has had its losses. The Highland division has been in the forefront of the desert battle.

* * *

Learn Meaning of an American Institution

It will be strange if any man, woman or child in the British isles does not now understand something of what Thanksgiving Day means to America. We have had articles about it in the papers, broadcasts relayed from America, broadcasts by Americans in this country, broadcasts in the school programs. On the day itself the stars and stripes fluttered over many buildings in our towns. The king and queen held a party at Buckingham palace for American officers and service nurses. Here in Scotland dinners for service men were held at the American Red Cross service clubs in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and every effort was made to provide the special dishes associated with the commemoration. Not only have Americans on this side been given every possible help in celebrating, but the people of Britain have entered into the spirit of Thanksgiving Day as never before in history. Plans are also being made for active participation by the American troops in our Christmas holiday festivities.

* * *

President's Wife Tires Reporters

Reporters in this country found it hard work to keep pace with Mrs. Roosevelt in her whirlwind tour. She was nothing if not thorough in her investigation of the different aspects of our war effort, especially the numerous occupations in which women are engaged. Never has Scotland had a more popular visitor. The only drawback to her very short stay was the disappointment in many towns when she had to decline invitations to visit them also. At one small industrial center near Edinburgh, Mrs. Roosevelt met delegates from the women's rural institutes. They presented to her a tin of the Scottish delicacy, shortbread, to take to the President. The sugar used in it had been saved from the women's scanty rations. This happened on a Wednesday, and the President partook of the shortbread on the following Tuesday.

* * *

People Learn Habits Of Thrift

The exigencies of war have revealed to us what a shameful amount of waste there is in the normal peacetime life of a modern civilized country. Materials now vitally important were simply thrown away in vast quantities. One of the things that interested Mrs. Roosevelt was the use being made of "scrap"—kitchen refuse now collected to feed thousands of pigs, tins and metals of all kinds rescued from the dust-bin to be refashioned for a hundred purposes, rubber, bottles, rags, paper. The little rivulets of household savings swell into a mighty stream that provides vast quantities of necessary goods. It is true the public has to be constantly jogged by reminders on the radio, in the press and in poster advertisements, but it is certainly learning new habits of thrift which should survive the war.

* * *

Churches Hold a Week of Witness

Again this year all Protestant churches in Scotland are cooperating in a "Week of Witness to the World Mission of the Church." Although originated in connection with the foreign mission enterprise the word "foreign" is now avoided, as the movement makes no distinction between home and foreign. The aim of the week's special effort is to proclaim what the church stands for, and the contribution it can make to the life of the world today. The activities of the week, which has just begun, will take many forms—mass meetings in the large towns, special meetings for various kinds of church workers, children's and young people's gatherings, plays, film exhibitions, and joint services at which the different denominations combine. Apart from other considerations, it affords a striking demonstration of the fundamental unity and common purpose of the church as a whole.

* * *

Provide Chaplains for Industry

A new departure in the effort of the Church of Scotland to follow up the young men and women called for war service is the appointment of Rev. William Bodin as organizer of the church's work in connection with industrial chaplaincies. While the spiritual needs of those in the fighting forces are provided for by the regular army chaplaincy, it is more difficult to keep touch with the men and women in factories, yards, lumber camps and agricultural centers. The church is anxious not only to provide for the present needs of such wartime workers, but to insure that when they and all in the fighting forces return to normal civil life they shall know that the church has been with them in all their work.

GEORGE CARSTAIRS.

Beveridge Plan Well Received

Gains Wide Support of Press—Beveridge Answers His Critics—Archbishop Gives Christmas Message

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Dec. 8.—"The Beveridge plan proposes to exorcise want by measures whose chief qualities are simplicity, adequacy, uniformity and equity." When such words appear in the editorial columns of a great weekly, and many other papers agree, it is clear that Sir William Beveridge has challenged the nation. In his radio speech he claimed as his predecessors Lloyd George, who introduced health insurance, and Winston Churchill, who was responsible in his youth for the bill which first provided insurance for unemployment. It must not be supposed that such a welcome as the report has received insures for it an easy passage. On the contrary, there is certain to be opposition. Already criticism has been directed against some parts of it by the industrial insurance companies. Sir William has unique qualifications and he means to see the proposals through. He has met one inevitable objection by suggesting: "Maintenance of employment involves at the very least the making of a national design for the use of our national resources for meeting our needs in the aftermath of war. To make that design, a new piece of machinery not yet existing, an economic general staff, is essential."

* * *

Churchill Popular In Midlands

What has been uppermost in our minds during the week is indicated in the speeches which have received most attention. Mr. Churchill in his speech on the steps of the Bradford town hall gave much the same picture as he did in his recent radio address. A sober and cheerful review was followed by a solemn warning that hard days are before us. The most significant mark of the occasion was that an audience gathered in the heart of industrial England gave an unmistakable welcome to the prime minister wherever he went. There was an important speech in the House of Lords by Lord Cranborne, until lately colonial secretary. The ultimate objective of our policy, he said, had been to promote self-government in the colonies. We had made considerable progress, though there was as yet no realization of this. He proceeded to describe the educational, medical and other services which had been established. He claimed that the British Commonwealth was not static but dynamic. Upon the same theme, General Smuts spoke in a speech relayed from Africa.

* * *

Government Opposed To Darlan

During last week when statesmen talked at table by themselves, the name of Darlan must have often been heard. The government have not departed from their position that we must not prejudice the future. Only the people of France can decide that future when France is once more free. In the general war situation there has been

an increase in the German counter-attacks in North Africa and though the Russians still moved forward they had to meet stiffening resistance. The speech of Mussolini struck our people as though he were trying to stimulate his people to renewed exertions through an increase of hatred, particularly of this country. It came as a new fact to us that we had always been enemies of Italy!

* * *

Novelist Friend of Boys Dies

Last week B. Paul Neuman died. All his days he belonged to a Congregational church, New College Chapel, in northwest London. He was a poet of distinction, and a novelist. Everyone who knew him saw in him a man who was not cut according to any pattern. A bighearted, merry, many-sided being, a Christian humanist with a quick imagination, he found life good. But to see him in his most characteristic service, it was necessary to go some evening to a boys' club in a poor neighborhood in St. John's Wood. That club he served for half a century. He had seen and understood the sad case of the boy from a very poor home with a bent for study but with nothing to help him in his home. He had his reward in the gratitude of many members who could have said that but for him they might have had no chance. It was in this work, he told me, he found material for his novels. Yet among the Congregationalists few would know what this man had done.

* * *

Archbishop Delivers Christmas Message

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Christmas message is: "Let us at all costs avoid the temptation to make of our Christmas worship a withdrawal from the stress and sorrow of life into a realm of unreal beauty. It was into the real world that Christ came, into a city where there was no room for him, into a country where Herod, murderer of the innocents, was king. And he comes to us, not to shield us from the harshness of the world, but to give us courage and strength to bear it, not to snatch us away by some miracle from the conflict of life, but to give us peace, his peace, in our hearts, whereby we may be calmly steadfast while the conflict rages and be able to bring to the torn world the healing of that peace."

* * *

B.B.C. to Conduct Series of Religious Broadcasts

Beginning in January, the B.B.C. will broadcast six weekly discussions on religious and ethical questions. The half-hour broadcasts will deal with issues raised by listeners and will be conducted by representatives of the three main Christian traditions in this country—Anglican, Free Church and Roman Catholic. While the discussion will be spontaneous, the answerers will have seen the questions several days before so that they can give consideration to them. The members of the team have all been actively engaged in the Student Christian Movement.

* * *

And So Forth

In this country we are preparing to keep a more Spartan Christmas than in other years. But it will be kept. Each wartime Christmas has had its own distinctive char-

Why is this a thorough-going and significant book for this time?

Because the impact of the new world must not find Christian missions unprepared!

Indeed never before has there been such need for such a book. The mission enterprise *has* reached the end of one era and is now entering another. The national, social, and religious ideologies have undergone a profound change.

The widespread realization that the appeal of missions is not a compelling influence in the lives of any considerable number of Christians has impelled Dr. Soper, authority on religions, to undertake this study which convincingly presents the pre-eminence of Christianity as the religion for ALL mankind.

Read Now EDMUND D. SOPER'S

The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission

The Contents

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

THE BIBLICAL BACKGROUND. Prophetic Universalism. Jesus Christ and the World Mission. The Expanding Vision of the Primitive Church. Paul the Missionary. The Purpose of God in the History of Israel.

THE WORLD MISSION IN HISTORY. The Course of Events. The Christian Mission in a Developed Culture. The Christian Mission Among Barbarians. The Christian Mission in the Modern World.

CHRISTIANITY AS THE WORLD RELIGION. The Christian Gospel. The Missionary Motive. Christianity and Non-Christian Religions. (Why Take the Gospel to Animists? To Hindus? To Buddhists? To Confucianists and Taoists? To Shintoists? To Moslems? To Jews?) The Uniqueness of Christianity.

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD MISSION. Aims and Methods. The World Mission and Nationalism. Christianity and Indigenous Cultures. Missions and the Ecumenical Church. The Kingdom of God.

Study this book we must if we would understand the present and future obligations of the Church to all mankind.

PUBLICATION DATE, JANUARY 20 PRICE $2.50

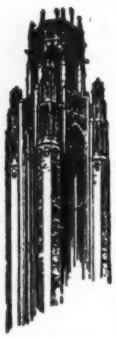
At your Bookstore *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press*

PRICES SLIGHTLY HIGHER IN CANADA

acteristic. This one will find us still prepared to go on without slackening, but more certain what the end will be.

Much attention has been given to the Scottish educational system, as providing an example which might be imitated here. In Scotland they have solved the "religious difficulty." But in Scotland, it is said, the problem is different. Unless you hear to the contrary, you can assume that a Scot is a Presbyterian.

EDWARD SHILLITO.



PREXY AND SON

By Fred Eastman

A timely and sparkling 3-act drama. One set, 8 men, 6 women. Father and son conflict against a background of the present crisis in American colleges. Order from publisher: Walter H. Baker Co., Boston, 75 cts. per copy. The latest of many plays created at our Seminary to dramatize religion in action.

The Chicago Theological Seminary

Albert W. Palmer, President

5757 University Avenue, Chicago

New HYMN BOOKS IN 1943?

SEVENTH LARGE PRINTING

Christian Worship and Praise

Edited by Henry Hallam Tweedy, D.D.

A rich selection of hymns and tunes, including ageless hymns and new hymns voicing social consciousness and patriotism.

Beautifully printed in bold face readable type. Indestructibly bound.

Price $1.20 per copy in quantities.

Examination copy sent on request

A. S. Barnes and Company

67 West 44th Street, New York

Slash Hours of Liquor Stores

Increasing Drunkenness Moves California Board to Act—Dim-Out Rules Cut Night Attendance at Church

(Correspondence from Northern California)

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 28.—Widespread disapproval of increasing drunkenness has caused the state board of equalization to shorten hours in which establishments which sell liquor may be open to but six hours per day. Men in uniform may be served only from five in the afternoon until midnight. This reform is long overdue.

* * *

Dim-Out Rules Cut Church Attendance

Dim-out regulations have curtailed the evening activities of many churches. Several have given up holding church night dinners as long as the present regulations prevail. However the First Congregational Church of Berkeley found its six "seminar" dinners more popular than ever, according to Vere Loper, the minister. Dr. Ida Scudder of Vellore, India, is one of the speakers scheduled in this series.

* * *

Many Japanese Students Are Released

The Friends Center which is located in what was formerly the Japanese Y.M.C.A., 1830 Sutter street, Berkeley, is a very busy place. Much of the work of relocating students of Japanese ancestry heads up here. Through the efforts centering here, over 300 students have been released to approved colleges, with almost as many scheduled to be released the second semester. There are about 2,400 qualified college and university students in the relocation camps across the country.

* * *

Maguire Addresses Relocation Center

Bruce B. Maguire, formerly of Mount Auburn Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, and now Pacific and Southwest secretary of the Student Y.M.C.A., spoke recently before the Japanese evacuees at the Tule Lake Relocation Project. Thanksgiving speaker at this center, which is located at Newell, Calif., was Mrs. Mary Farquarson of Seattle. Mrs. Farquarson is at the same time a state senator and secretary for the northwest section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

* * *

Pugh Visits Coast

William Barrow Pugh, stated clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., recently made a four-day visit to this Pacific coast. He attended a Chinese dinner at the St. John's Presbyterian Church, Berkeley, visited the seminary at San Anselmo and toured army and navy centers in care of army and navy chaplains. His headquarters are in Philadelphia.

* * *

And So Forth

W. Paul Reagor, minister of the First Christian Church of Oakland, president in 1942 of the California church council and of the Oakland Rotary club, is slowly emerging from a long convalescence. He was struck by a runaway truck.

Albert Edward Day, former vice-president of the Federal Council of Churches and minister of the First Methodist Church of Pasadena, has visited several Pacific coast cities as an arbitrator of labor disputes, a task which he has performed with remarkable success.

Robert N. McLean, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Santa Barbara for the past ten years, has accepted an invitation to become pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Yakima, Wash., where he will have oversight of a church membership of 2,200 people.

Gerald Kennedy of the Palo Alto Methodist Church has moved to Lincoln, Neb. Raymond Grant of Sacramento has taken over the class in homiletics at the Pacific School of Religion formerly taught by Mr. Kennedy.

E. Stanley Jones will deliver the Thomas Verner Moore lectures in the San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, in April.

The Earl lectures in the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley will be given Feb. 12-14 by Karl Hambro, former speaker of the Norwegian parliament, Halford Luccock of Yale Divinity School, and Anton Boisen, visiting professor from Chicago. The usual pastoral conference will be held in connection with the lectures.

STANLEY A. HUNTER.

Co-ops Developing in Near East

Labor organizations and cooperatives are developing fast in the Near East, according to Worldover Press. Local newspapers carry a great deal of labor news, and many significant accomplishments are recorded. Modern Palestine has developed cooperatives to a remarkable degree.

Anti-Liquor Author Dies in Pasadena

Fletcher Dobyns, author of *The Amazing Story of Repeal*, died on Dec. 13 at his home in Pasadena, Calif. He was 70 years of age.

In his new book, *Our Eternal Contemporary,* Professor Walter M. Horton refers to John Knox's book

The Man Christ Jesus

as

"that little classic, *The Man Christ Jesus,* the most theologically constructive utterance that has come from an American New Testament critic in our generation. . . . Knox's little book renders a great service by allowing the face of the Master to appear clearly once more, in all its human simplicity and superhuman majesty." **$1.00**

Willett, Clark & Co., 37 W. Van Buren St., Chicago

Expect Bracken to Be Firm Leader

Former School Head Dictates Great Change in Party Policy—Census Shows United Church Gains

(Correspondence from Manitoba)

WINNIPEG, Dec. 28.—Few developments in Canadian politics in recent years have had the potential significance carried by the change in the Conservative party leadership. At its recent meeting in Winnipeg, that party not only offered leadership to a man who was not even a member but at the outsider's bidding changed its name to Progressive-Conservative and its policies to suit the name. The new leader, John Bracken, Liberal-Progressive premier of Manitoba, is an unusual man.

* * *

New Leader a Product of Agrarian Revolt

In 1922 John Bracken was president of Manitoba Agricultural College. In that year an agrarian revolt sent an unorganized group, loosely associated as the "United Farmers of Manitoba," to contest a provincial election. To their own amazement the United Farmers won sufficient seats to obtain a majority over all other parties, and become the government. The party was dumfounded. It had no leader and no men among its ranks whom it wished for leader. But it was a farmers' party, and somebody suggested that the best leader would be the president of the agricultural college. Bracken at first "did not choose to run." But the case was urgent, the pressure strong. And with almost the suddenness of an emergency operation, the youthful head of the little college was whisked away to become premier of Manitoba.

* * *

Consider Scholar Easy Prey

The other parties did not take him seriously. It was commonly thought that he would be honest and well meaning, but would fall easy prey to the slippery politicians with whom he would shortly have to contend. In this they were mistaken. John Bracken, a small, neat, quiet-spoken young man, did his work as premier as calmly as he had administered his college. But he did it just as efficiently. Soon the other parties were beginning to learn that he was the most adept opponent they had ever met in the "game he did not understand." Elsewhere throughout Canada and the world, premiers came and went, but through all the vicissitudes of prosperity, depression and the Second World War Bracken remained. In 1936 his party was returned with less than a majority. By concerted action his opponents could, at any time, have put him out of office. But in the delicate balance, no other party would have sufficient members to put itself in. So Bracken still remained. After the beginning of the war he succeeded in bringing all parties into a coalition government. When the call came from the Conservative party he was firmly in the saddle for the duration, already holding the contemporary record in the British Commonwealth of Nations for uninterrupted tenure of a prime minister's office.

* * *

Demands Change Of Policy

It is scarcely surprising that the Conservatives, as often defeated as their opposite numbers in the United States, the Republicans, should have begun to study this perennial premier. But at first the proposal to call him as leader seemed fantastic. Bracken was labeled a progressive and known as a low tariff man and an internationalist. Then circumstances began to change. A group of younger Conservatives, meeting last summer in Port Hope, repudiated diehard conservatism in both domestic and international affairs. Bracken made a speech outlining his policies. Port Hope Conservatives pointed out that their own policies were of the same mold. A strong "draft Bracken" party developed. Overtures were made. Bracken's reply laid down the conditions that the party accept his principles as its own, and change its name accordingly by incorporating the word "Progressive." Over this issue a lively battle developed in the convention. But the pattern of development was in the traditional Bracken style. When the tumult

Free Churchill Pamphlet

The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from productive equipment to ground values. (See Christian Century, Oct. 7, 1942). Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toil and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authors." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

Send at once for free copy of Churchill pamphlet, edited by Louis Wallis.

The Henry George School of Social Science

30 East 29th Street New York City, N. Y.

He draws as he speaks

"ALL OUR CHURCHES united for a week's program with Charles A. Wells . . . It was the greatest event of its kind our city has experienced for many years." **The Ministerial Union of Pittsfield, Mass.**

THE CHARLES A. WELLS CONFERENCES on CHRIST AND WORLD NEED

152 Madison Ave., New York

Further information on request. All engagements planned well in advance.

FOR CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP

This interdenominational graduate school of theology is sought by men and women who plan to give their lives to Christian service. Thorough preparation for all types of church leadership. The faculty includes members of six denominations. Degrees offered are A.M., B.D., and S.T.M. Additional opportunities offered by Oberlin College of Arts and Science and Conservatory of Music. Catalog.

Thomas W. Graham, D. D., Dean, Oberlin, Ohio

OBERLIN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

Are you looking for the news behind the news? Try a 17-weeks' Acquaintance Subscription to The Christian Century and see how much of it you find there. The test will cost you only $1.

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY
407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago

Please send The Christian Century for 17 weeks. Enclosed $1.00.

Name_____

Address_____

and the shouting had died Bracken was leader, and his policies had been officially endorsed.

* * *

To the Left of The C.C.F.?

Some of Bracken's opponents think that he will now be no more than a shirt-front for central Canadian reactionaries. People who have dealt with him in Manitoba smile at that suggestion. Many remember that the last Conservative premier, R. B. Bennett, in an amazing change of direction, spent his final years in office introducing to a startled but disciplined Parliament far-reaching measures of legislation for social security—legislation which the Canadian supreme court soon declared unconstitutional. It is the hope of a considerable section of younger Conservatives that, with Bracken at the head, the Progressive-Conservative party may become the more liberal of the two large parties and may capture the vote of a great number of Liberals who are unwilling either to support Mackenzie King or to commit the government to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Whether it can accomplish this in the face of the C.C.F.'s rising popularity, only the event can determine. Meanwhile, at least, the Conservative party is again in fighting spirit, and the next election promises to be a contest more vigorous and more vital than Canada has seen since the early days of Laurier.

* * *

Repudiates Attack on Neutral Societies

The action of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Sherbrooke, Que., in stating "with precision and publicly" the "thought of the church" about "neutral" societies such as the Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions clubs, and his plea to Catholics to be "on guard" against them, brought an immediate response in Winnipeg. Father F. R. Wood, chancellor of the archdiocese of Winnipeg, stated that he did not agree with the declaration, and that he had not been able to find anything in these clubs and societies which he would deem objectionable from a Catholic standpoint. The statements of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, where Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, frequently differ from those in other parts of the country where Catholics are in the minority.

* * *

United Church Gaining In Manitoba

Figures just released by the dominion bureau of statistics reveal that at the time of the 1941 census, the Roman Catholic Church, with a membership of 203,259, stood highest among the denominations in Manitoba; the United Church of Canada, with 194,001, second; and the Anglican Church, with 125,076, third. In the rate of growth, however, the United Church of Canada is in the lead. In the ten-year period ending 1941, United Church members have increased by 17,761 and Roman Catholics by 13,566. Anglicans have decreased by 3,309. The Presbyterians who remained out of union have dropped from 55,720 to 43,073, recording a severe decrease of 12,647. Jews, located mostly in the city of Winnipeg, have decreased from 19,193 to 18,715. Those reporting no religion have decreased from 2,629 to 1,335. Other interesting figures for the province are (1931 figures in parentheses): Mennonites, 39,336 (30,352); Greek Orthodox, 20,777 (15,774); Baptists 13,267 (13,483); International Bible Students, better known as Jehovah's Witnesses, 996 (2,316).

ERNEST MARSHALL HOWSE.

Protest Paying 'Victory Tax'

Kentucky Baptists Deny Right of State to Collect Taxes on Pastors' Pay—Juvenile Delinquency Rising

(Correspondence from Kentucky)

BEREA, Dec. 22.—Kentucky Baptists, through a subcommittee of the executive board of their state association, have issued a strong protest against the provision of the federal tax law which makes the collection and remittance of the "victory tax" of five per cent on ministers' salaries the responsibility of the employing congregations. Voicing no opposition to the tax as such, they object to the alleged invasion of the freedom of the churches, the implied definition of the churches as corporations subject to legal control, and the violation of the principle of separation of church and state. In an editorial in the *Western Recorder*, official organ of the Kentucky association, Editor John D. Freeman said: "Baptists and other free church people of the United States face the possibility of being sent to jail for their deep-seated and inescapable conviction that the state has no right to invade their moral and spiritual domain. . . . The power that can say to a church, 'You deduct five per cent of the salary [of ministers and others]' . . . can readily usurp the power to say to the same church, 'You will be bound by our rules both as to whom you employ and under what conditions.' "

* * *

Deny Buses to Private Schools

The court of appeals of Kentucky has unanimously held to be unconstitutional the 1940 act of the state assembly approving free transportation for private and parochial schoolchildren in public school buses. The opinion was based on the restriction in the constitution and statutes of the state imposed by defining "common schools" to which such acts may apply to be "public" or "free" schools. Commenting editorially, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* calls the decision "a sorry victory for constitutionalism" and censures those "persons who permitted their abstract respect for the suitable separation of church and state to obscure their sense of proportion."

* * *

Rise in Delinquency Of Juveniles

At a meeting under the auspices of the Louisville council of churches, 100 clergymen recently heard H. V. Bastin, superintendent of the Jefferson county corrective home for delinquent youths, declare that on visits to 14 of the city's "hot spots" he had been "shocked and amazed" by the large number of children and youths frequenting places where they were being exposed to such drinking, vulgarity and moral irresponsibility as could not but break down their moral standards. J. J. Crumley, head of the social service department of the public workhouse, told the same assembly that recent attempts to control prostitution had brought more women and teen-age girls to the workhouse. Tentative experimenta-

"IT MAKES TEACHING SO EASY"
Tarbell's 1943 TEACHERS Guide
"Indispensable for its thoroughness, deep spiritual insight and ability to present the heart of the lesson." — Watchman Examiner
Cloth $2.00 Postpaid
At all book stores, or
F. H. Revell Co., 158 Fifth Ave., New York

PULPIT FURNITURE
Chairs, Communion Tables, Baptismal Fonts, Etc.
Fine furniture at factory-to-Church prices. State your needs.
DE MOULIN BROS. & CO.
1204 S. 4th St.
GREENVILLE, ILLINOIS

Choir & Pulpit GOWNS
Fine materials, beautiful work, pleasingly low prices. Catalog and samples on request. State your needs and name of church.
DeMoulin Bros. & Co.
1117 South 4th St. Greenville, Ill.

still $2.50
for a fine single room with bath
$3.50 to $7.00 Double
1000 ROOMS - 1000 BATHS
Write for Maps and Booklet
George H. Newton — Manager
Prince George Hotel 14 East 28th St. New York, N.Y.

Your Responsibility

CHRISTIAN CENTURY PRESS,
407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago
Please send_____copies of the handbook, THE CHURCHES AND A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE.
Single copies, 15 cents.
10 or more copies, 10 cents each.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Send bill.
Name_____
Address_____

tion, he said, is under way which envisages sending such prisoners upon their release to a designated minister. Virgil Lynch, city alcohol beverage administrator, remarked, "More and more we are finding that when boys and girls are involved in liquor law violations . . . one or both parents are working in war plants."

* * *

Psychiatrist Says Killing Creates Moral Breakdown

Dr. Howard Whitaker, psychiatrist of the Louisville child welfare bureau, speaking before a group of social workers at the annual conference of the Kentucky Social Workers Association, proffered another explanation for the increasing delinquency among women and children. When the manhood of the nation, he said, is called upon to break down with public approval one of the fundamental moral standards of the race, "Thou shalt not kill," the whole moral fabric is so weakened that other members of society, attempting to express their desire for solidarity with the men, are disposed on their part to break down other moral standards, such as, "Thou shalt not commit adultery" and "Thou shalt not steal."

* * *

Schools Need Teachers

In the *Journal of the Kentucky Education Association,* George L. Evans, of the state department of education, presents evidence to show that elementary school teachers in half of Kentucky receive less on an annual basis than the minimum wages for waitresses of $12 per week. In fact, the annual salary for all Kentucky's teachers, principals and superintendents together averages only $15.88 per week. Twenty-one per cent of Kentucky's public school teachers have left the schoolroom. One-fifth of the adults of the state have not passed beyond the fourth grade. John W. Brooker, state superintendent of public instruction, stated recently that "the primary function of the schools today is to train young people for participation in war."

* * *

And So Forth

Howard Pierce Davis, former foreign correspondent and now radio commentator, told a Louisville women's club audience that a peace headquarters should be established immediately by the Allied powers where plans for a permanent peace could begin to be shaped.

R. W. Raaf, minister of Portland Avenue Methodist Church, Louisville, stated in a Sunday sermon that like the prophets of old, who, according to him, led the nation in its wars, the preacher of today should persuade men that "it is our business to fight that righteousness shall not perish from the earth."

Samuel S. Hill has been inaugurated president of Georgetown College (Baptist).

Nine days after the election which returned Senator Chandler to the Senate, the War Production Board found Ben H. Collins, Louisville contractor with many armament contracts, guilty of using materials in violation of priority rulings to build the senator a swimming pool last May. The pool was "a gift." Although the senator offers to give the steel and brass illegally used back to the government, so far no labor has been found to scrap the pool.

WALTER W. SIKES.

Phillips Brooks

made it a rule to read during each year at least one good book on the subject of preaching.

Here are five books on that subject, widely approved, which may offer suggestion to ministers who are looking forward to a fruitful new year.

HIGHLAND SHEPHERDS: Arthur W. Hewitt

By this book Dr. Hewitt won recognition as the most stimulating adviser of preachers in a decade. David A. MacLennan of Toronto sees in him a twentieth century George Herbert and finds *Highland Shepherds* "a book which will hearten every minister and thrill the man whose field is beyond the urban centers." $2.00

GOD'S BACK PASTURE: Arthur W. Hewitt

In this companion book to *Highland Shepherds,* the author writes of the house of God, the house of man, rural economics, the pastor's civic and social leadership, the "larger parish," education, etc. $1.50

PREPARATION and DELIVERY of SERMONS: Carl S. Patton

First have something to say, advises Dr. Patton, then know how to say it effectively. Chapters on Material for the sermon, its Structure, its Style, its Preparation and its Delivery. "A book of a master which no one interested in the art of preaching can neglect." $2.00

THE USE of the BIBLE in PREACHING: Carl S. Patton

Emphasizing the need of a return to biblical preaching, the author insists that such preaching must make an appeal to modern audiences. He shows how that can be done, giving a number of "sample" sermons actually preached. $2.00

THE MINISTER'S JOB: Albert W. Palmer

Intended for young ministers and also for older ministers who would "keep going." "Plan to do your best work after fifty," he advises—and he shows how that can be done. $1.25

Three Books on Religion

On the origins of religion

A Realistic Philosophy of Religion

A. CAMPBELL GARNETT. Commended by such scholars as Hartshorne and Macintosh as a true account of the current empirical approach to religion, this book is praised by many reviewers as "lucid" and "readable." $3.00

Widening religious horizons

Man's Quest for Salvation

C. S. BRADEN. Thousands of years and the aspirations of untold millions of many ethnic stocks are condensed in this story of the salvation ideals of ten religions. "An admirably clear picture," says A. Eustace Haydon. $2.50

Religion and the future

Religion and the World of Tomorrow

W. W. VAN KIRK. Only the church can from the present collapse bring into being a new world of righteousness and brotherhood. A must book for both ministers and laymen. $1.50

Instructing Youth in World Brotherhood

Let's Talk It Over!

LEONARD P. ARIES. A manual of seminars on such themes as "What Is An American?" "Prejudice and Understanding" and "What Can We Do in a World of Crisis?" A volume that lends itself admirably to use with youth groups who are sufficiently intelligent to get out of the ruts and to think their way through to an understanding of the American way of good will and brotherhood. $1.00

Ten or more, at 75c each.

White Corpuscles In Europe

ALLAN HUNTER. To assure a new generation of Christians Christian enough to see the folly of war and to work for a world without hatred and enmity, leaders of youth should see that these inspiring biographies of five champions of peace and good will are carefully studied. Says the *Friend:* "This book will bring fresh hope and a new faith in humanity." 75 cents

Willett, Clark & Company • 37 W. Van Buren, Chicago

War Brings Jam to St. Louis Housing

Population Increase of 150,000 Fills All Available Dwellings—Church-Going Steady Despite Gas Cut

(Correspondence from St. Louis)

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 30.—Basing its estimates on sugar rationing books issued in this area last spring, the census bureau states that the population of metropolitan St. Louis has had a net gain of approximately 100,000 in the past two years. About 50,000 men have gone from this area into military service. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* commenting on the figures which indicate that 150,000 new residents have come here, thinks it is notable that so great a mass movement could take place without affecting the pattern of life in our city. The paper concludes that "they [the new residents] are just like the people who were here before." WPA workers, in a survey made a year ago, discovered some interesting facts about these new residents: 31 per cent of them had formerly lived in St. Louis and looked upon coming here as returning home; 44 per cent came from Missouri; 17 per cent came from across the Mississippi in Illinois. The average distance from which they had come was 160 miles. At the time of the 1940 census there were about 20,000 vacant dwelling units in St. Louis and St. Louis county. Since then about 12,000 new units have been built. Now there is virtually 100 per cent occupancy and a demand for more.

* * *

Churches Offset New Year Revelry

Churches are predicting that there will be an unusually large attendance at New Year's Eve prayer services. Hotels and night clubs unwittingly have stimulated interest in these prayer services by their blatant announcements of liquor parties and champagne dinners at $12.50 a plate. Some of them ask patrons to bring their liquor, but promise that hats and noise-makers will be provided. The Christian conscience has been outraged by this lack of feeling for the seriousness and the spiritual need of the time. Many Christian people are determined that they will give a demonstration of their faith by going to church on New Year's Eve. New Year's Day will be observed generally by the churches of St. Louis as a day of prayer in accordance with the President's proclamation. The beautiful Danforth chapel of the Pilgrim Congregational Church will be used for prayer services throughout the day from 9 o'clock until 5. Ministers from several Protestant denominations and at least one rabbi will lead 15-minute services beginning on the hour.

* * *

Announce Speakers for Pastors' Institutes

Ministers in this region will have the benefit of two conferences this winter. Eden Seminary has announced its annual convocation for March 2-4. The lecturers will be William A. Irwin of the divinity school of the University of Chicago, John Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, and Halford E. Luccock of Yale Divinity School. The registration fee will be $1. The annual convocation for ministers sponsored jointly by the University of Missouri and the Missouri council of churches will be held at Columbia, Feb. 23-25. Speakers will be Luther A. Weigle, dean of Yale Divinity School, and Albert W. Palmer, president of Chicago Theological Seminary. Denominational meetings will be held in connection with the convocation.

* * *

Find Gas Rationing Does Not Cut Church Attendance

The consensus of opinion among those St. Louis ministers with whom this correspondent has talked is that gas rationing is not reducing church attendance. On three Sundays in December our streets were covered with snow and ice and on the fourth Sunday there was a cold drizzle. Whatever shrinkage in attendance was suffered during the month—and the reports are that it was not large—can be attributed largely to the weather.

* * *

And So Forth

A denominational publishing house in St. Louis reports a 50 per cent increase in the sale of religious books in 1942 over 1941. The greatest increase has been in the sale of devotional books. Clerks in the bookstore who have talked with customers believe the demand for devotional reading can be traced directly to the growing strain of war.

R. N. Dutton, pastor of the Delmar Baptist Church and newly elected president of the metropolitan church federation, will be installed in office at an ecumenical service in his own church on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 10.

The first woman ever to be elected to a city office in St. Louis has been given certification of election after a contest and a recount. She is Mrs. Ruby H. Koelling, who has won over John P. English for the office of recorder of deeds.

Milton Frenzel, 29-year-old painter of religious pictures who has had his work exhibited in the St. Louis Art Museum and the Central Library, is attracting the favorable attention of art critics. Mr. Frenzel, who has made many nature studies, has announced that he intends to devote the rest of his life to religious art.

HAMPTON ADAMS.

Ask for Conscience Clause In Manpower Laws

Requesting that "persons who on grounds of conscience are opposed to participation in war and conscription for war service shall be listed on a register of conscientious objectors and shall not be required to perform work or service to which they are conscientiously opposed," E. Raymond Wilson of the Friends War Problems Committee recently appeared before the Senate committee on education and labor.

Missions Educator Dies on Return from Meeting

Mrs. E. H. Silverthorn, former director of the department of missionary education of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., died on Dec. 12 on her way home from Cleveland, Ohio, where she had attended a meeting of the United Council of Church Women. She lived in New York.

Seek to Tighten Liquor Controls

Kansas City Tavern Keepers Welcome Help from Clergy—More Money for Weekday Classes Asked

(Correspondence from Kansas City)

KANSAS CITY, MO., Jan. 4.—The Tavern Keepers Association of Kansas City approved a recent move by the ministerial alliance to strengthen state laws controlling sale of intoxicants. The alliance, whose president is Malcolm A. Matheson, invited the directors of both the state and city liquor control departments and one municipal judge to address the ministers. As a result, a committee of Christian lawyers has been organized to formulate legislation strengthening the state laws regulating sale of intoxicants. The tavern keepers claim that distributors of "non-intoxicating" beer, who are unregulated, and of "package goods" are largely responsible for selling to minors and conniving with prostitutes. They favor strict regulation of these dealers. Whether or not they will favor all the suggestions of the committee remains to be seen.

* * *

Churches Give Support to Liquor Control Efforts

Both the ministerial alliance and the council of churches have effectively encouraged enforcement of liquor laws. The council, during the past two years, has helped prevent the passing of two ordinances designed to weaken the liquor code, has assisted in the adoption of a new and stronger city liquor code, and has upheld the hands of the director of liquor control, Judge Joseph F. Kiernan, who has strictly and honestly enforced the laws. Judge Kiernan is a Roman Catholic, a Republican and a teetotaler; his support has come mostly from Protestants.

* * *

Continue Drive Against Pendergast Machine

The citizens of this city who, after many failures, succeeded three years ago in breaking the stranglehold of the Pendergast machine on their city government, are successfully continuing their effort. A year and a half ago they elected additional councilmen pledged to good government. This fall they voted for a merit plan for city employees and carried their cleanup to county officials. Only one official affiliated with the discredited machine was elected. Today Kansas City is undoubtedly one of our best governed cities.

* * *

Worth M. Tippy Leads in New Plans for Council

The council of churches is in the midst of reorganization and development. James W. McDonald, secretary for nine years, has resigned on account of his age. Worth M. Tippy, coming from a similar position in Washington, D.C., and serving as interim general secretary, is projecting an enlarged program suited to the increasing opportunities and needs of cooperating Protestantism. The annual budget of the council will be almost, if not quite, tripled in one year. The new plans include provisions for re-

lating local churches both to war workers and their families, who are flooding the city, and to 10,000 service men and women located here. The plans also include improvement of numerous religious radio programs directed by the council, and extension of the weekday schools of religion. These schools are held in churches near public schools on school time, and have a curriculum based on proved educational methods and taught by well trained paid teachers.

* * *

Board of Education Votes to Continue Religion Classes

While these weekday schools of religion have maintained standards as high as those of the public schools, they have suffered for lack of money. A year ago the advisability of releasing the children for religious instruction on school time—an arrangement which had stood for nearly 20 years—was challenged in the board of education. A joint committee of the board of education and of the council of churches studied the schools of religion for a year and reported unanimously in favor of continuing them. The board of education adopted the report with one dissenting vote. John A. Guice and Roy K. Dietrich, an attorney, effectively represented the council on the special committee. These schools should be extended to include several times the 4,000 pupils now attending, more than half of whom receive no other formal religious training.

* * *

Gas Rationing Found No Church Problem

Gas rationing and bad weather hit our churches on the same Sunday, and both have continued to affect them. The general impression is that gas rationing has not as seriously reduced attendance at church worship as it was feared it might, but that it has considerably reduced attendance at church school and at midweek meetings. On the first Sunday of rationing one church ran an advertisement inviting people of other churches living near by to attend that church, when they could not attend their own, without feeling any necessity of transferring their membership. Generally pastors and churches have shown little disposition to take unfair advantage of others in this emergency. Probably increasing Sunday work and heavy pressure of daily life are handicapping the church more than gas rationing. Churches which heat with fuel oil are obliged to restrict their activities.

* * *

Pastors Resign After Long Service

Four local ministers who have served exceptionally long pastorates have recently resigned. George P. Baity served the Westport Presbyterian Church for 49 years—the church never had another pastor nor the pastor another church. George Hamilton Combs, who founded the Country Club Christian Church and served it and the Independence Avenue Church of this city for 49 years; Harry Clayton Rogers, pastor of the Linwood Presbyterian Church for 32 years, who accepted a pastorate in San Francisco; and Silas Bitner, pastor of St. Peter's Evangelical Church and treasurer of Research hospital for 16 years, have also stepped out. Dr. Burris Jenkins would add a fifth to this imposing list were it not that he reversed the process and recently took over again at the Community Church, of which he has been pastor for 32 years and pastor emeritus for three and a half years. Owing to financial difficulties related to the new building and an enlarged program, Joseph C. Cleveland, minister of that church and correspondent of The Christian Century, accepted the pastorate of the Park Congregational Church at Greeley, Colo., and Dr. Jenkins, at 73 years of age, has again become pastor, assuming the responsibility with the confidence and enthusiasm of a boy and with the ability and resourcefulness of tested age.

* * *

And So Forth

The new pastor of the Country Club Christian Church is Warren Grafton, formerly of Cincinnati; of the Westport Presbyterian, Stuart M. Paterson, formerly of Greeley, Colo.; and of the Linwood Presbyterian, L. David Cowie, formerly of Los Angeles.

With R. Park Johnson assuming the pastorate of the Second Presbyterian Church, and Ralph H. Jennings that of the First Presbyterian, Kansas City, Kans., the four largest Presbyterian churches in Greater Kansas City are under new pastoral leadership. H. H. Lustzow has become pastor of the Broadway Methodist Church in place of Edward Hislop, transferred to Topeka, and Gene Frank is the new pastor of the Washington Avenue Methodist Church in Kansas City, Kans.

KING D. BEACH.

Rumania Suppresses All Free Churches

A report cabled Religious News Service from Stockholm states that the Rumanian government has issued a decree dissolving religious communities, free church bodies and sects on the ground that their existence endangers national unity. Baptists will be the hardest hit. In 1938 and 1939 the government almost succeeded in dissolving the Baptists, Evangelicals and Adventists, but a world-wide protest from Protestants brought a stay of execution. Eight small sects were, however, proscribed. Under present circumstances it will probably be impossible for Protestant opinion to prevent this latest move to make Rumania a closed preserve for the Orthodox Church.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

1-13-43

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

George Washington Slept Here (War.) Jack Benny, Charles Coburn, Percy Kilbride, Ann Sheridan	*Comedy.* Farcical woes of city dwellers at attempt to make livable dilapidated farmhouse of questionable historic interest.	Avoiding excessive profanity of stage play on which it is based, film is more enjoyable than that production. Rather slow-moving at times, but *fun throughout.* **M, Y, C**
Mashenka (Artkino; in Russian with English titles) M. Kuznelzov, D. Pankratova	*Drama* about a boy and girl—engineer and nurse—in peacetime and on the Finnish frontier.	Not outstanding in story or performances, but *appealing* in its simplicity, modesty and restraint. Revealing as picture of everyday Soviet life. **M, Y**
The Palm Beach Story (Par.) Mary Astor, C. Colbert, Joel McCrea, Rudy Vallee	*Comedy* adventures of wife who sets out to get divorce, concentrates instead on obtaining financial aid for husband's airport project.	With far less meat than in previous satires written and directed by Preston Sturges, this seems annoyingly trivial—even silly—and overelaborate for present-day showing. Cleverly handled, but often unethical, sometimes risqué. *Overfrivolous.* **M**
Road to Morocco (Par.) Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, Dorothy Lamour	*Farce* as two shipwrecked wanderers trek through North Africa—series of wisecracks that poke fun at this film and movies in general.	Completely fantastic, in no wise meant to be taken seriously—in which spirit it is *good fun.* **M, Y, C**
Seven Sweethearts (MGM) K. Grayson, Van Heflin, Marsha Hunt, S. Z. Sakall	*Comedy* set during tulip festival in Michigan Dutch community, featuring romance in innkeeper's family of seven marriageable daughters.	Somewhat stiltedly done and heading nowhere in particular; nevertheless, *pleasant, tuneful fare.* **M, Y, C**
Street of Chance (Par.) B. Meredith, A. Reynolds, Claire Trevor	*Melodrama* in which amnesia victim seeks to solve murder in which he had been implicated during lapse in memory.	Starts out as good suspense film, with convincing performance by Meredith, but degenerates into just another hurried, *commonplace melodrama.* **M**

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Bambi, Fantasia, The Great Commandment, Holiday Inn, The Pride of the Yankees, The Spirit of Stanford, Yankee Doodle Dandy.

For Mature Audience: The Battle Cry of China, Casablanca, Crossroads, For Me and My Gal, The Forgotten Village, Gentleman Jim, In the Rear of the Enemy, Joe Smith—American, King's Row, Life Begins at 8:30, The Loves of Edgar Allan Poe, The Magnificent Ambersons, Moscow Strikes Back, The Moon and Sixpence, Mr. Kipps, Mr. V, Mrs. Miniver, My Favorite Blonde, My Sister Eileen, Now Voyager, The Pied Piper, Random Harvest, Sergeant York, The Talk of the Town, Target for Tonight, Wake Island, Wings and the Woman, The World at War.

NEW 1943 *Abingdon-Cokesbury* PUBLICATIONS

CLOVIS G. CHAPPELL

Sermons from Revelation

"The most tightly closed book in the Sacred Library" spills into these sixteen sermons its apocalyptic visions, its hope, its vigorous faith, and its sublime optimism. Dr. Chappell's expositions—lucid, reasonable, deeply spiritual—give the book a dramatic timeliness, so that the Seer of Patmos speaks to the needs of this very hour. Unmistakably, "this message of the Church of the first century has something to say to the Church of the twentieth century."

The Sermon Themes: THE LOST BLESSING. JOHN'S DEBT TO CHRIST. VICTORY OVER CIRCUMSTANCES. HEALING HANDS. THE COLD CHURCH. THE RICH CHURCH. THE CHURCH AT SATAN'S CAPITAL. JEZEBEL'S CHURCH. THE DEAD CHURCH. THE CONQUERING CHURCH. THE DISGUSTING CHURCH. THE WAITING GUEST. DESTROYING THE DESTROYERS. HOW THEY WON. FINAL VICTORY. COME, LORD JESUS. $1.50

CARL A. GLOVER

Victorious Suffering

Here is the answer to the age-old human cry of those who suffer. The book expounds a Christian philosophy by which even the pain of today's world-sorrows may be triumphantly met and used. In clear and simple language, with concrete illustrations from everyday life, Dr. Glover sets forth not only the causes of suffering but also the sources of Christian confidence and victory.

The Chapters: SOURCES OF SUFFERING. HOW MEN MEET SUFFERING. ACHIEVING TRIUMPHANT CONFIDENCE. THE SUFFERER LOOKS AT THE CROSS. ALTRUISTIC SUFFERERS. VICARIOUS SUFFERERS. GOD'S VOICE IN THE CROSS. INDIVIDUAL GAINS FROM SUFFERING. SOCIAL GAINS FROM SUFFERING. BEYOND THE VEIL. $1

Coming Soon!

UMPHREY LEE

The Historic Church and Modern Pacifism

This informative, provocative book concisely and clearly sets forth the history of the Church's position with regard to such troublous questions as these: *What had the historic Church to say concerning the salvation of the soldier? What have great Christian thinkers said about war and the duty of the Christian in war times? How is the Christian's attitude on war related to the State and the social order? How does modern pacifism differ from the historic Christian pacifism?* $2

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD

Personalities of the Passion

With simple clarity the Passion story is retold through these intimate sketches of twelve characters who were close to Jesus during his last days on earth. Written in England for "bombed homes, bombed hearts, and, perhaps, bombed faith," and in *this* period of crucifixion, the chapters bring light and hope and courage, as well as intense realization of that *other* crucifixion.

The Personalities: PETER, the loyal follower, acting the difficult part of a spy. JUDAS, the most tragic personality in history, in whom modern man sees his own sins. CAIAPHAS, burrowing in the "dugouts of official religion." HEROD, the "Sunday Christian" who trifled with life, with religion, with Jesus. PILATE, the tactless, who evaded his responsibilities. BARABBAS, the patriot-idealist and fanatical nationalist. SIMON OF CYRENE, the cross-bearer. MARY THE MOTHER OF JESUS, playing her part unseen. LONGINUS —THE ROMAN CENTURION, who dared to acclaim Christ the Son of God. DISMAS—THE CRUCIFIED REVOLUTIONARY, who sought to establish a new kingdom. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA, "successful . . . respectable," yet unhappy on Easter morning. CLEOPAS OF EMMAUS, who attempted to justify his own despair. $1.50

EUGENE M. AUSTIN

The Harvest of the Spirit

This book has to do with the problems of the human spirit in its relation to God, and with the harvest of this relationship in the quality of man's life among his fellowmen. Originality of theme, illustration, and arrangement mark the work.

The Contents: PART ONE—LIFE LIVED IN COMRADESHIP WITH GOD. The Great Encounter. Christ and Crisis. What God Does in Tragedy. Prelude in Darkness. PART TWO—LIFE LIVED BUOYANTLY. So You're Bored! A Trinity of Suffocation. Blessed Are the Debonair. PART THREE—LIFE LIVED WITH INNER SECURITY AND PEACE. An Interim Faith. Trade Winds of the Spirit. A Sermon for Valley Dwellers. PART FOUR—LIFE LIVED WITH DAUNTLESS ALLEGIANCE. Beware the Bramble King! Christianity—Is It a Gospel of Success? The Winter of Jesus. The Harvest of the Spirit. Gentleness. $1.50

Coming Soon!

FRANK S. HICKMAN

Signs of Promise

On these pages are blazoned forth the "signs of promise" which are inherent in Christianity, the hope for a more complete and satisfying world, combatting the prospect of a "total crisis of disintegration." $1.50

ANDREW W. BLACKWOOD

Planning a Year's Pulpit Work

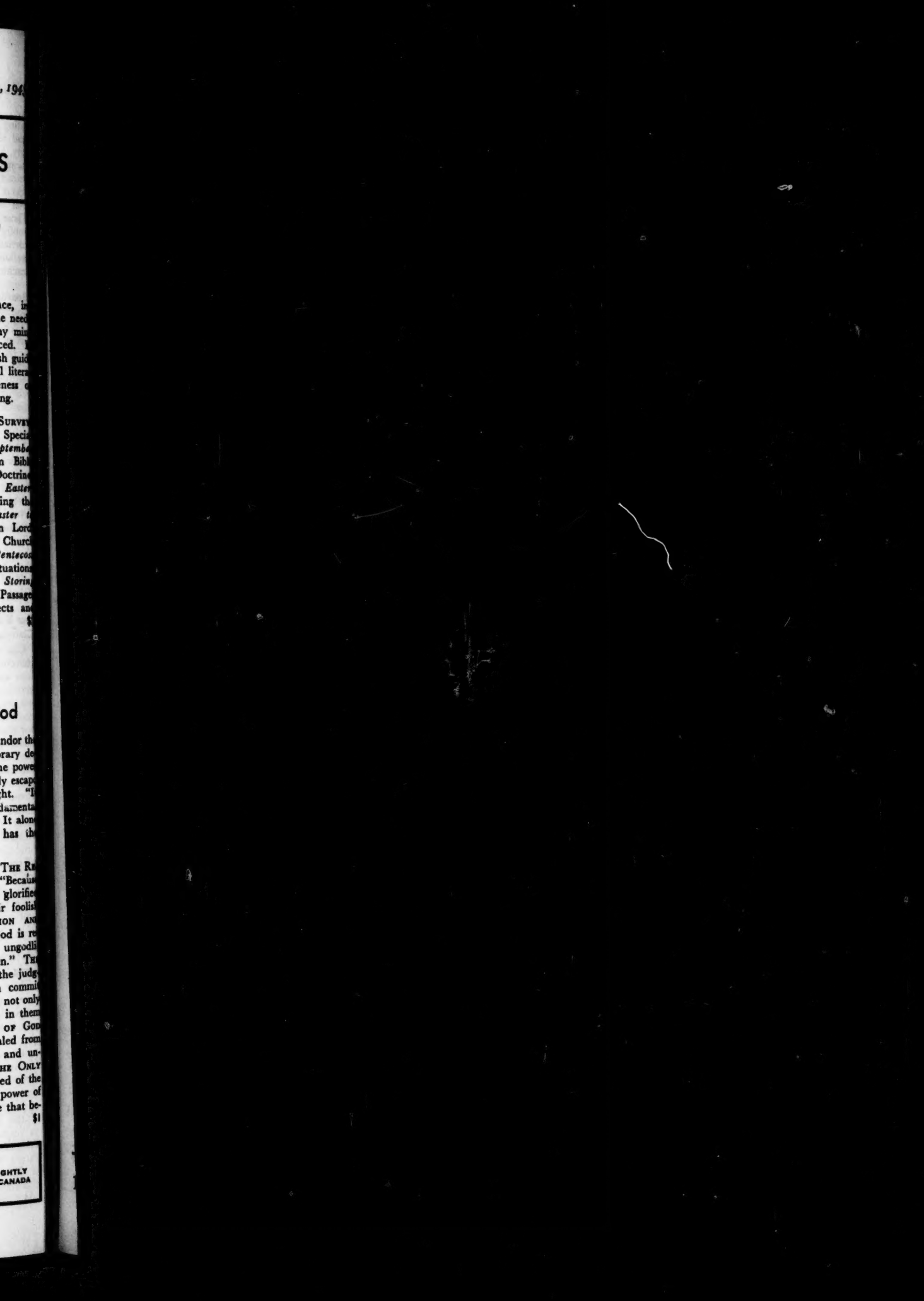
Based upon considered experience, i spired by practical insight into the nee of today, this book will help any mi ister, experienced or inexperienced. will encourage active study, furnish gui ance in the use of extra-canonical liter ture, and increase the effectiveness the minister's study and preaching.

The Contents: A PRELIMINARY SURVE Making the Plan. Observing Speci Days. UNDERGIRDING: *From Septemb to Christmas.* Finding God in Bibl History. Preaching Christian Doctrin RECRUITING: *From Christmas to Easte* Proclaiming the Gospel. Stressing th Cross. INSTRUCTING: *From Easter Pentecost.* Presenting the Risen Lor Preaching Bible Ethics. Using Churc History. HEARTENING: *From Pentecos to September.* Meeting Life Situation Adopting the Plan. APPENDIX: *Storin the Fruits of Study.* INDEX of Passag for Preaching. INDEX of Subjects an Persons.

MARTYN LLOYD-JONES

The Plight of Man and the Power of God

This book probes with ruthless candor th spiritual causes of the contemporary de bacle, and fearlessly proclaims the powe of the gospel of Christ as the only escap from the present human plight. "I alone faces and exposes the fundamenta problem of man and his needs. It alon diagnoses accurately; it alone has th remedy."

The Chapters and the Texts: THE RE LIGIOUS HISTORY OF MANKIND "Becaus that, when they knew God, they glorifie him not as God . . . and their foolis heart was darkened." RELIGION AN MORALITY "For the wrath of God is re vealed from heaven against all ungodli ness and unrighteousness of men." TH NATURE OF SIN "Who knowing the judg ment of God, that they which commi such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them." THE WRATH OF GOD "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men . . ." THE ONLY SOLUTION "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." $1

At Your Bookstore! ABINGDON-COKESBURY PRESS PRICES SLIGHTLY HIGHER IN CANADA